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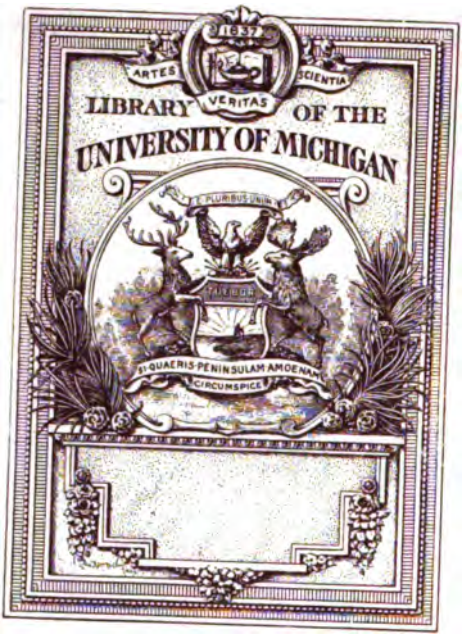
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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOLUME I.

October, 1906--July, 1907.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 1. OCTOBER, 1906. NO. 1.

Salutatory.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has decided to establish a quarterly magazine of history, under the title of "Missouri Historical Review," of which the present publication is the first number.

For the benefit of those to whom the Society itself is unknown, a few facts may be given. It was organized May 26, 1898, by the Missouri Press Association, incorporated in March, 1899, and in May of that year was made a trustee for the state by the Fortieth General Assembly. Its library has been built up more rapidly than that of any other historical society in the country, so that it now has an accession list of 12,290 volumes, and a pamphlet collection of about 20,000, in all some 32,000 titles, in addition to 40,000 duplicate books and pamphlets for exchanges. It regularly receives more than 750 periodicals of Missouri, and these are bound in suitable volumes for preservation. At the World's Fair at St. Louis, it made an exhibit of the periodicals of Missouri for the year

1903, and of publications by Missouri authors, for which the Society was awarded a grand prize.

Its library contains a large part of the general, county and city histories of the state, the proceedings of the various secret fraternities and societies of all kinds, such as the Bar Association, the Bankers, the Medical, the Press and other state associations.

Of college and school reports it has more than 3,000; of minutes of religious organizations in the state 2,000; of the official publications of the state more than the state library and all the departments in Jefferson City combined; and large collections of the municipal publications of St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Joseph and the other cities of the state.

The society has held five annual meetings at which valuable historical papers were presented, and these will be given to the public thru the pages of the Review. There are, too, many persons in the state who can relate matters of historical interest, and the establishment of a journal in which articles may be published will doubtless induce many persons to contribute papers of merit. The law provides that local historical societies may become auxiliary to the state society, and the Review will encourage the establishment of such societies, and the general development of historical interest among the citizens of our state.

The Review will serve to keep before the public the objects of those who established and are supporting the Society. It will give space to genealogical items, to notes, especially of interesting facts relating to Missouri, to reviews of historical publications, and to brief biographies of persons who were notable from having held official positions or from being authors of publications.

The Society invites the co-operation of all persons who are interested in the history of the state.

THE ROMANCE OF WESTERN HISTORY.*

It may well be with some misgiving that one from the New England seaboard ventures to address you upon a subject relating to your own history. Such an outsider must, perforce, be ignorant of so many things that what he thinks is new may be well worn commonplace; for we are ever subject to the illusion that what is new to us must be equally novel to others. Yet the field of history is so inexhaustible and the points of view from which it may be examined are so various, that one need not, after all, though a stranger, shrink from entering so broad and so inviting a field as Western History.

As I have selected a broad area I shall also assume the privilege of a somewhat discursive treatment of my theme, and not hold myself rigorously to a study of explorations, for I think I may do more for you in an hour in briefly touching upon several aspects of this subject than in a systematic examination of one of them.

That western history is a broad and inviting field hardly calls for demonstration to a western audience, and so I will pass at once to a further and less obvious characterization of it. Western history far more than the history of our Atlantic seaboard is intellectually a broadening and liberalizing study.

Local or regional history ordinarily drifts into mere antiquarianism or genealogical piety. This tendency is particularly strong in New England where the history of the town or state deals in the main with the development of a larger or smaller society from the nucleus provided by the emigration of some associated families from an earlier home, or from England. The background is English. There is little in the study to dissolve hereditary national prejudices, little to take one outside of what is bred into his life.

In New England and New France the rivalry and hostility of

*An address before the State Historical Society of Missouri, February 7, 1906.

the two rival mother lands were renewed and carried on, and the student of New England history has too often to review the horrors of raids and massacres fomented by the French authorities to rid himself of traditional prejudice, perhaps of a sort of ancestral enmity. Far different is it with the local history of these western regions, once the great colonial domain of France and bearing the name of the great king. In Old Louisiana the French explorers, *voyageurs* and priests are the path breakers the forerunners, not the deadly enemies of one's forefathers. They first viewed the land and reported that it was good, and we have reaped the fruit of their labors.

The impulse to admire and honor them, to appreciate them at the full, suffers no chill from the recollection of a life and death struggle with one's forebears. Here, too, as one goes back in time the field of his survey broadens. He is taken out beyond his purely English environment. He is thrown into the atmosphere of large designs, of imperial expansion, of empire building. Spanish and French explorers open the drama for him, and in their aims and designs are revealed the genesis of national policies, the great landmarks, as it were, of our history.

The study of this history is broadening and liberalizing, then, for almost inevitably the student is at once lifted out of mere local antiquarianism. The Spanish and French colonial systems, the interaction of the public policy of Spain and France throughout the whole eighteenth century, demand his attention, and American history assumes a larger aspect and is more obviously a factor in the history of the great European states than appears to one who follows the development of Virginia and Massachusetts. I would not be understood to disparage the value of local history or the opportunity of the local historian in the east, but rather to emphasize the distinction which attaches to western history. The local history of our eastern communities is indispensable to the understanding of the development of our institutions, but it depends for its interest and its cultivation mainly upon the residents or their descendants. To strangers whose taste for institutional history is not developed, it seems either dry or gossipy, and con-

cerned with the trivial interests of daily life. The atmosphere of the early history of the trans-Mississippi west, on the other hand, is far different. It invites in its treatment from the historian the broadest outlook, and it begets in the student a wholesome and enlightening appreciation of the spirit and contributions of France and Spain to the greater achievements in human history.

Western history, again, possesses in an exceptional degree those elements of romance which are almost indispensable in kindling the earliest interest in history and in keeping alive the flame, and which in fact have been the great motive forces in revivals of historical study. It is not without significance that Herodotus himself, the father of history, was something of a romancer and that the greatest individual factor in developing historical interest and studies in the 19th century was the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott.

In thus pressing the value of the romantic element in history I shall not be held unfaithful, I trust, to the stern duties of the historical critic. There are romances and romances. It may be the fortune of the critic to attack romances dear to the popular heart because they are essentially untrue and distort the whole outline, and the fulfillment of this duty is entirely consistent with a belief that history without romance will have little interest except for the trained mind. The charm of the romantic element lies in the play of personality, the contrasts of character, the filling of the foreground by the hero whose fortunes enthrall us in youth and do not lose their charm in age. Then again there is the romance of dramatic junctures, of the great scenes, and of those turning points of history which kindle the imagination, and lead one on to reason out what might have been, a process which is often quite as truly enlightening in historical study as ascertaining what did happen. There is, further, the romance of great designs which become shaping forces in historical development.

In all these elements of romance this history of the trans-Mississippi west is rich and from this wealth I shall this evening cull here and there the material for our consideration.

The first entrance of Europeans upon this scene is

dramatic beyond most events in American history. To think that it should have been visited for the first time in the same year by two exploring parties, one coming from the Atlantic and the other from the Pacific three hundred and sixty-five years ago, more than four generations before Marquette and Joliet floated down the Mississippi and over two generations before the real beginnings of New England and Virginia!

In less than half a century after the voyage of Columbus, Hernando de Soto starting from the coast of Florida, and Coronado setting out from the Gulf of California, came within a few days' journey of each other in 1541, De Soto penetrating northern Arkansas and Coronado coming as far east as central Kansas.

There is no event in the history of the exploration in the United States more impressive to the imagination than this almost complete spanning of the continent two centuries and a half before any explorer north of the present territory of Mexico ever covered its breadth from ocean to ocean.

In the expedition of Coronado again we have the first elaborate exploration of our country which originated on this side of the Atlantic. The enterprise was under the patronage of the Viceroy of New Spain and led by the governor of New Galicia. The expedition of De Soto, on the other hand, was in a measure an outcome of the conquest of Peru, for in Peru its leader had made his fortune.

A study of the literature of the De Soto expedition opens up still other fields. There is the truly classic narrative of that anonymous Portuguese known only as the Gentleman of Elvas which in literary quality seems to me not undeserving a place beside the Anabasis of Xenophon, and whose historical importance is marked by the fact that Richard Hakluyt translated it in 1609 to demonstrate to the English public the value of the new colony of Virginia; next to the work of the Gentleman of Elvas comes the daily record of events kept by Rodrigo Ranjel, private secretary of De Soto, and preserved by the historian, Oviedo. This was not published at all until half a century

ago and it was made English only a little over a year ago. (1) Finally, for the student of literature there is the romance of chivalry which Garcilaso de la Vega, the Peruvian born son of a Spanish general and an Inca princess, wove from the materials at his hand; for "The Florida of the Inca" as his work is called, which is known in a measure to English readers through the abridged adaptation of Theodore Irving entitled "The Conquest of Florida," is really an historical romance modeled after the old romances immortally parodied in Don Quixote.

No other examples need be cited to illustrate the broad ramifications of western history, and of its literature, yet I have by no means enumerated all its phases of interest. Quite apart from their literary quality or from the importance of the events they record the narratives of pioneer expeditions will always possess as records of the first observations and impressions of our land an unfailing interest.

It is, I think, a common emotion when we observe one of the great natural wonders of the world to try to imagine the impression it made upon those who first saw it, unforewarned. Too often the early explorers have been either too harassed with their difficulties or too insensible of natural wonders to gratify this interest in a satisfactory degree. A striking exception is afforded by Columbus whose narrative of his first voyage is full of responsive appreciation of the natural beauties of tropical island scenery. The historians of the expeditions of De Soto and Coronado did not possess the sensitive imagination of Columbus, and they describe the natural wonders in a rather matter-of-fact way which disappoints us a little, yet with a realistic touch that testifies to their accuracy of observation. What were the sensations of the first Europeans who looked upon the majestic Father of Waters? De Soto and his followers first saw the Great River, Rio Grande, as they called it, May 8, 1541. (2) They crossed it in June after having spent

1 See *The Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, etc. edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne, New York, 1904.

2. This date is not absolutely certain. It may possibly have been a day or two later. *See Ranjel s Relation* in *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, II, 137.

about a month in building barges. "The distance," says the unknown Gentleman of Elvas, "was half a league, a man standing on the shore could not be told whether he were a man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep; the water, always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber driven onward by its force." (3) "Many of these conquerors," says Rodrigo Ranjel, the private secretary of De Soto, "said this river was larger than the Danube," and later: "And Saturday, June 18, the whole force crossed this great river in the four barges and gave thanks to God because in His good pleasure nothing more difficult could confront them." (4)

The greatest natural wonder beheld by any of Coronado's men is perhaps also the greatest natural wonder of the world, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona. This stupendous gorge was visited by Lopez de Cardenas and twelve companions in the spring of 1540, and thus by a strange chance this, the greatest of our scenic wonders, and the latest to be explored, visited and appreciated by our people, was the first to be seen by Europeans, antedating the first visit to Niagara by nearly a century and a half and to the Yosemite Valley and to the wonderland of the Yellowstone by three centuries.

What could De Cardenas report of such a sight as now greets one at Rowe's or O'Neil's Point? The words of Castaneda, the historian, are few but vivid and I will quote them all as they have not, I believe, hitherto been presented in English with entire accuracy.

"The General Coronado," writes Castaneda, "next despatched Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with 12 companions to see this river, and he, when he reached Tusayan, was well received and entertained by the natives. They gave him guides to continue his march and they set forth from that place laden with provisions, since they had to go through a land without people until they reached the part that was inhabited, which

3. *Narratives of de Soto* I, 115.
4. *Narratives of de Soto*, II, 137-138.

the Indians said was more than 20 days' march distant. Then when they had gone 20 days' march they came to the gorges of the river, where, when they were thinking of getting across them, it seemed as if it was three or four leagues through the air to the other side. (5) This land is high and full of crooked dwarf pines and very cold under the north so that although there in a warm season one could not live for the cold in that gorge. They were three days in searching a descent to the river which appeared from above as if the water were only six feet across, and yet according to the account of the Indians it was half a league broad. To go down was impossible, because after three days one place seeming to them the least difficult, Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion as the most agile attempted to go down. And they went slowly down in sight of those above until their forms were lost from view, since eyesight was not able to reach them, and they returned at four o'clock in the afternoon and reported that they were unable to get down by reason of the great difficulties that they found; since what above appeared easy was not so but very rough and hard. They said they had gone down a third of the way and that from the place they reached the river appeared very big, and according to what they saw the breadth that the Indian mentioned was to be taken for the truth. From the top they distinguished some great rocks wrenched from the side of the gorge to all appearance the size of a man. Those that went down swore that when they came to them they were larger than the greatest tower of Seville." (6)

Were there time I should like to draw further from Castaneda the earliest notices we have of the pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, of unique Acoma, of the impressions of

5. This passage was completely misunderstood by Ternaux-Compans whose interpretation Mr Winship followed in the first edition of his translation. See G. P. Winship *The Coronado Expedition*, 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 429, 489. The misunderstanding is corrected in Winship's *Journey of Coronado*, New York, 1904, p. 35, but the descriptive force of the passage is missed by translating *barrancas* "banks" instead of "gorges."

6. From the Spanish text as printed in Winship's *The Coronado Expedition*, 429.

the Spaniards of the great plains between the Mississippi and the mountains. I can only note the first appearance of a name to stand for a long sought goal of French exploration, *la mar de poniente* "the Western sea." Castaneda speaks of the vast level country "between the mountain chains which I said were near the North sea and the South sea, which might better be called the Western sea along this coast." (7)

Soon the French were to explore this vast central region and from the first the one goal was steadily before them of finding the way to the sea of the West.

A hundred years have passed since Lewis and Clark solved the problem and the recent centennial anniversary has been productive of a wealth of books, articles and lectures. Yet in spite of all that has been written I wonder if it is generally appreciated how early and how persistently French explorers aimed to accomplish this work.

The plan of operations carried out by Jefferson and Lewis and Clark seems to have occurred to the very first explorers who saw the turbid current of the Missouri pouring into the peaceful Mississippi from the unknown West.

Father Marquette writes: "We were sailing placidly down the clear and quiet water," (it was late in June,) "when we heard the noise of a rushing stream toward which we were headed. I have never seen anything more frightful; a mass of whole trees, branches, floating islets, was issuing from the mouth of the River Pekitanoni with such violence that one could not venture to cross it without great peril. The disturbance was such the water was all muddy from it and could not clear itself. Pekitanoni is a considerable river which coming pretty far from the Northwest empties into the Mississippi. There are several Indian villages on this river. I hope by its means to discover the Vermilion Sea or Gulf of California. We are pretty certain by the direction of the course of the Mississippi that if it continues the same it empties into the Gulf of Mexico. It would be very advantageous to find the river which goes to the South sea to-

7. *Journey of Coronado*, 11, *The Coronado Expedition*, 455.

ward California, and this is what I hope to find by the Pekitanoni according to the report that the Indians have given me " (8) The report was misunderstood or misleading; but Marquette never had the opportunity to act upon his thought. Three years later he died.

The first official proposition to carry out this design of Marquette's that I have found was made about twenty-five years later and came from the energetic La Motte Cadillac after his service as commandant at Michillimackinac in 1694-96 in his Report apparently written about the year 1697 or 1698.

"There is also," he writes, "in the range of this nation (the Sioux) a river known in the remote interior for 1000 leagues. It has no rapids and would carry a bark throughout. ———Its source is not yet known. Its course is from the West and it unites with that of the Mississippi which goes to the South sea. (9) My idea is that by this river one could discover the Western sea," and he goes on to explain that the distribution of the watersheds supports this view. The watershed between the Mississippi system and the lake system is so passable at many points that he argues that in all probability it would not be difficult to pass the height of land separating the sources of the Missouri from those of some river emptying into the ocean on the west." (10)

The enterprising founder of Louisiana, Le Moyne d'Iberville, in 1700 outlined a plan for the systematic exploration of the west toward New Mexico and to the sea.

"I will at the same time take the requisite measures for the discovery that is wished, which may be made either by the River Marne (Red?) the Arkansas or by the Missouri if it is thought necessary. My idea is that it will be necessary to go by the Marne to intersect the Missouri if that is believed

8. *Voyage et Decouverte de Quelques Pays et Nations de L'Amerique Septentrionale par Le P. Marquette et Sr. Joliet.* Paris Reprint (1845) of ed. 1681. p. 30.

9. *Mer du Sud* here evidently means the ocean on the south.

10. Margry, *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais* etc., V. 125.

to be the best and shortest route.....

"After finding the height of land of the rivers flowing down to the sea of the West to find out whether, if one should follow one of them down, it flows into California near the establishments of the Spaniards." (11)

In 1700 the first voyage up the Mississippi undertaken by white men in a European boat was made by Pierre Le Sueur in a felucca, a long, narrow sail boat familiar in the Mediterraean. In 1702 he announced that he had built a new fort only about 60 leagues from the Missouri "and by this means he hopes to explore the Missouri through its entire length and the vast regions in the west of this river. If you consent, sir, to do him the honor to employ him for that purpose he pledges himself if God preserves his life and health two years to give you complete information in regard to all these lands which will give you much pleasure on account of the interest that you take in what regards the good, the honor and the glory of France." (12)

Marquette's design was frustrated by ill health and death, Le Sueur's by the indifference and preoccupations of the crown. Some years later he died in returning across the Atlantic. (13) In 1704 we find Canadians scattered in small bands of seven or eight on the Missouri as well as the Mississippi. It would seem to be too early then for authentic information, for a *voyageur* named Laurain who returned from the Missouri had but a confused account to give of his course, and of the people who lived upon it and of the establishments of the Spaniards on the frontiers of New Mexico. (14) The following year, 1705, two Canadians brought word to Bienville that they had wandered for two years from village to village in the Missouri country. They reported having been almost to the Spanish mines and having reached a village which some Spaniards had just left. (15)

11. Margry, VI. 178.
12 Margry, VI. 91.
13. Bernard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique de L'Etablissement des Francais a La Louisiane.* Paris. 1831, pp. 70-71.
14. Margry, VI. 181.
15. Margry, VI. 182.

In 1708 Nicolas de la Salle strongly pressed the exploration of the Missouri declaring that it had already been ascended by Canadian *voyageurs* almost 3 to 400 leagues to the northwest and west in the finest country in the world. (16) A year later the Sieur de Mandeville declared that there was good ground to believe that great discoveries might be made on the Missouri. (17)

It is in 1717, however, that we find the first positive intimation of the existence of the great river of the west emptying into the sea on the other side of the continent. One Sieur Hubert in urging the exploration of the Missouri combined the motives of opening trade with the Spaniards and discovering the Western sea. It would be easy, he urged, to oust the Spaniards from the mines but "there is another object which is not less magnificent, it is a great river which is alleged to issue from the same mountain range where the source of the Missouri is. It is believed even that there is a branch of it which empties into the Western sea. This discovery the Canadians who would be taken there would very soon accomplish and by the settlement which would procure the trade with China and Japan the way to it would be short. Those who have gone up this River Missouri assert that it is the true source of the Mississippi which ought properly to be called the Missouri." (18) The Sieur Hubert's account of the fertility of the soil and the healthfulness of the climate, and the beauty of the landscape glistens with the enthusiasm of a later day.

These various suggestions and proposals soon had the effect of inducing the French government to act and an officer of the troops in Canada was selected to make an exploration to the Western sea. As a preliminary investigation of the question seemed prudent, Father Charlevoix, later the eminent historian of New France was despatched to investigate and report upon the practicability of an exploration to reach the sea on the

16. Margry, VI. 183.
17. Margry, VI, 184.
18. Margry, VI. 189-190.

West. (19) The most satisfactory and exact information that he got was the assurance of many Indians of the Miamis, Illinois, Sioux, Missourites and others that at the height of land at the head of the Mississippi, Missouri and St. Pierre (Minnesota) there were rivers which run to the west. (20) Charlevoix made his report after his return, late in 1722 or early in 1723. "I represented to the Count of Toulouse," he wrote the Count de Morville, the minister and secretary of state, "that I saw only two practicable ways to discover this sea; that the first was to go up the Missouri whose source is certainly not far from the sea according to the testimony of all the Indians, I have seen; the second was to establish a mission among the Sioux, who as they are at war with the Assiniboils, will no doubt get some prisoners from them, and who trade with the Aiouez who are near the Missouri and know its upper waters; missionaries therefore to these Sioux would have through these Indians whose language they will learn in a short time, all the information to be desired. His Royal Highness Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans (the Regent) took up this last plan and we have been notified to appoint two Jesuits for the new mission of the Sioux." (21)

We must believe that here was an instance where excessive prudence deprived France of the glory of another exploration and another explorer to rank equally with Champlain and La Salle and their great achievements in opening up the St. Lawrence and Mississippi regions. In the event of a successful exploration of the Missouri and the River of the West at that time, and that such an exploration would have been successful there is every reason to suppose, American geography would have been advanced three quarters of a century. The only really substantial fruit, however, of Charlevoix's journey was his admirable *Journal Historique* one of the most valuable of early American travels, and perhaps such a determination of his interests as led him to

19. Margry, VI. 532.
20. Margry, VI. 526.
21. Margry, VI, 534.

devote years of study to his great History of New France, a work of genuine critical scholarship. I will make one or two brief citations from Charlevoix's Travels. The first relates to his first view of the Missouri.

"On the tenth (of October 1721) about nine in the morning, after sailing five leagues on the Mississippi, we arrived at the mouth of the Missouri, which lies northwest and south southeast. Here is the finest confluence of two rivers that, I believe, is to be met with in the whole world, each of them being about half a league in breadth; but the Missouri is the more rapid of the two, and seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror carrying its own white waters, without mixing, across its channel quite to the opposite side; the Missouri soon communicates this colour to the Mississippi, which thereafter never loses it, and drags it along hurrying to the sea." (22)

A Missouri Indian woman informed him "that the Missouri rises from very high and bare mountains, behind which there is another river, which probably rises from thence also and runs to the westward." (23)

Earlier in this lecture I remarked that in the history of this western region we trace the genesis of great national policies. One can not indeed follow the history of Louisiana without being compelled equally to follow the history of France and Spain, their alliances and rivalries. Of many illustrations that might be given I shall select one. You will recall that one of the most urgent arguments which Napoleon pressed upon the court of Spain in 1800 to induce the retrocession of Louisiana to France was that once in the possession of France Louisiana would be a barrier to the westward expansion of the United States which was so menacing to the possessions of Spain. "The Court of Spain," the message ran, "will do then, at once a wise and great act if it calls the French to the defense of its colonies by ceding Louisiana to them, and by replacing in their hands

22. Charlevoix, *Journal Historique d'un Voyage dan l' Amerique Septentrionale* Paris 1744, p. 392. *Journal of a voyage to North America*, London, 1751, II. 218.

23 *Journal of a voyage*, etc., II. 224.

this outpost of its richest possessions in the New World." (24) Two years earlier the famous Talleyrand presented the same argument in behalf of France even more emphatically: "Let the Court of Madrid cede these districts to France, and from that moment the power of America is bounded by the limit which it may suit the interests and the tranquility of France and Spain to assign her. The French Republic, mistress of these two provinces (The Floridas and Louisiana) will be a wall of brass forever impenetrable to the combined efforts of England and America." (25)

This argument so specious and so ominous for the future of the west one would naturally suppose to have been the plausible creation of the ingenious Talleyrand, yet it was elaborated a century earlier by the founder of Louisiana, Le Moyne d'Iberville, in a *memoire* not dated but apparently of the year 1701, in which he gave a remarkable prognostication of the westward movement.

"If one", he writes, "will give some slight attention to the country occupied by the English on this continent and what they plan to occupy and to the resources they have in these colonies where there are neither priest or nuns, and where every one propagates, and to what they will become in thirty or forty years, one can feel no doubt that they will occupy all the space between them and the Mississippi which is one of the finest countries in the world. They will then be in shape with the help of the Indians to raise sufficient forces by land and by sea to gain the mastery of all America, or at least of the greatest part of Mexico which is not being populated at the rate of the English colonies, which will be in condition to put in the field armies of thirty and forty thousand men." ...."Although the country at present occupied by the English is not considerable this is no reason for preventing France from saving the French

24. Note of the ambassador of the Republic, Aug. 3, 1800, cited from the French Archives in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I. 366.

25. Instructions to Citizen Guillemardet, Minister to Spain. May-June, 1789, cited in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I. 357.

and Spanish Colonies in America at an early date from complete ruin by promptly establishing a good colony around the mouth of the Mississippi, occupying Mobile, and withstanding the progress of the English in these regions among the tribes of Indians. .....

"It appears absolutely necessary", he continues a little later, "to plant a colony on the Mississippi, on Mobile River, to form relations with the Indians who are numerous there both in villages and in separate tribes and to arm them to sustain themselves against those the English have on their side and push the English back over the mountains." (26) Here we see the farsighted Le Moyne anticipating the whole westward growth of the English nearly half a century before the French government took very active measures to forestall it, and anticipating the arguments of Talleyrand to the Spaniards by nearly a century.

This memoir of Le Moyne d'Iberville's contains another interesting item which I do not recall seeing mentioned in any history of the English westward movement. I will give the whole passage.

"From the 30th parallel of north latitude to the 37th the countries of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania are separated from the lands of Florida [used in the Spanish sense] by a chain of mountains ten, fifteen or twenty leagues from the sea. This chain of mountains is very high and five, six and ten leagues broad and at its foot the rivers take their rise. The space between these mountains and the ocean is in many places wholly occupied by settlers whose children will be obliged to cross these mountains to find a home which many have already done in different places, joining various tribes of Indians like the Quasquens, Chaouanons, Wolves, which are established on one of the branches of the river Ouabache, the other branch being only a day's journey from the Sonnontonans, their allies. It is by the Quasquen branch that a number of English from Carolina in Virginia came down who have

26. Margry, IV. 545-46 and 548.

gone to settle among the Acansas or Cappa, which is a tribe to the west on the border of the Mississippi." (27) This is so far as I know the earliest authentic record of an attempted English settlement on the Mississippi. It may be of course that Le Moyne was misinformed, but it does not seem likely. He adds: "They are moving forward into this part of Florida already very close to the Mississippi compelling different tribes to recognize them. They have not as yet been further north than 37 degrees (Southern Kentucky) or further south than thirty-three (Middle Alabama). Some, however, have gone to the sea by the Mobile river." (28)

I have touched upon the romantic interest attaching to the earliest description by men of our own kind of the wonders of nature in this new world and particularly in the great southwest and dwelt at some length upon the genesis of the great exploration whose completion a century ago marked an epoch in the development of our country. I had planned also to develop the beginnings in the early French days of that southwestern commerce which became in the nineteenth century so important a tributary to the wealth of Missouri, but my time is limited and I relinquish this interesting theme with the less regret because it would not be practicable in the space at my disposal to add anything to the material in Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict* or Dr. Thwaites' chapter in his recent *France in America* (29)

I will then pass to a phase of the history of the old Missouri country in which it stands by itself. I refer to it as almost a chosen scene for imaginary travels. You are all familiar no doubt with the story of La Hontan's fictitious exploration in 1688 of the Long River with its strange tribes of Mozeemleks and Eokoros and the Tahuglauk which no other travelers were subsequently privileged to find. (30) The Long River occupies

27. Margry, IV. 544.
28. Ibid. 545.
29. Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, II. 9-23. Thwaites, *France in America*, 82-84.
30. La Hontan's *New Voyages to North America*. Thwaites' Ed. I. 179-203.

almost the position of the St. Peter's or Minnesota, but the exploration of the St. Peter's by Le Sueur soon threw discredit on La Hontan's discovery. Less attention, in fact hardly any at all has been drawn to La Hontan's claim to have sailed up the Missouri in the spring of 1689 which if genuine would make him its first white voyager and explorer. Allow me to quote this earliest romance of the great river.

"But considering that I was straitened for time, and that I saw no probability of learning what I wanted to know with reference to the Spaniards, I took leave of 'em the next day, which was the 13th, and in four days' time, by the help of the current and our oars, made the River of the Missouri. This done, we run up against the Stream of that River, which was at least as rapid as the Mississippi was at that time; and arriv'd on the 18th at the first Village of the Missouri, where I only stop'd to make the People some Presents that procur'd me a hundred Turkeys, with which that People are wonderfully well stock'd. After that, we row'd hard against the Stream, and landed next night near the second Village."

"To be short, we re-embark'd that same day, about two a clock in the Afternoon, and row'd about four Leagues up the River, where we made the River of (132) the Osages, and encamp'd by its Mouth."

He got into a clash with the Indians and set fire to their village: "This done we pursued our course down that rapid river, and entered the River Mississippi on the 25th early in the morning." (31) This exploration Dr. Thwaites in his notes to his recent edition of La Hontan does not remark upon, nor do I find any reference to it in Edmond Roy's extensive monograph on La Hontan. (32) That it is as fictitious as the voyage up the Long River would seem to be indicated by the fact that not one of the early eighteenth century explorers of the river mentions La Hontan's voyage. Again the voyage is said to have taken place on the 17th of March and the following days, in other words, in the spring high water. In two days

31. La Hontan's *New Voyages*, I. 200-203.
32. *Proceedings and Transactions*, Royal Society of Canada, 1894, sect. 1.

and a half he goes up stream to the Osage river nearly 150 miles. But the half day's journey was only 4 leagues leaving 135 miles to be covered in two days. Nothing is said of the insurmountable difficulties of paddling up the Missouri in high water only that the stream "is at least as rapid as the Mississippi." Compare this with the account of Penicaut who accompanied Le Sueur in 1700. "We found on the left the mouth of a very great river, named the Missoury. This river is frightfully swift, especially in the springtime when it is high, for in passing over the islands when it overflows it uproots and carries off the trees.....The Indians who live on the banks of the Missouri go up or down it in August when the water is low and at Christmas on the ice when they go to the mines." (33) One is forced to believe that La Hontan's voyage up the Missouri was a map journey.

Some of you no doubt are familiar with the narrative of Mathieu Sagean who related a story of observations and adventures following La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi which is more like the stories of Sinbad the sailor than anything else in our exploration literature unless it be the story told by Davy Ingram who in after years later told of his wanderings on foot from Mexico to New Brunswick in 1568 and the following years. (34)

It was one of Charlevoix's tasks to report on the Sagean fable. Then again we have the story of the Yazoo Indian Moncacht-Ape of his journey to the Pacific ocean which we owe to Le Page du Pratz, which while not palpably fictitious I am inclined to believe is in the main an imaginary sketch. If true Moncacht-Ape would deserve to have his name honored as a genuine precursor of Lewis and Clark or Mackenzie. (35)

In this somewhat rambling paper I have touched upon several phases of the history of the old Missouri territory enlarging upon its variety of interest, its romantic elements, and

33. Margry, V. 409.
34 On Mathieu Sageau, Margry, VI. 93-173. Davy Ingram's narrative printed in *Magazine of American History*, IX. 200-08.
35 On the Moncacht-Ape story see A. McF. Davis, *American Antiquarian Society*, New series, Vol. II. 1882-83, 321-348.

reviewing the earliest proposals of Northwestern exploration to the Pacific, and Le Moyne d'Iberville's remarkeble forecast of English expansion and likewise his anticipation of Talleyrand's brilliant argument to Spain, and finally I have called attention to the singular fortune of this region in being selected as the scene of imaginary voyages thus transforming its plains and mountains bodily into favored realms of romance.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

THOMAS HART BENTON. (1)

Character sketches can accomplish little or no good except as they mark and illustrate the historical events of the period in which the subject lived.

I have selected the name of one of the first United States Senators of Missouri as the subject of this paper.

In making this choice I have not been prompted either by any personal predilections or partisan feeling. According to my understanding of his character he was a great man, and justice to his memory as well as a true history of the times in which he lived demand a true and impartial history of his life and public services.

I am not aware that the term "great man" has ever been defined. Emerson says: "I count that man great who inhabits a higher sphere of thought into which other men enter with labor and difficulty." I accept this definition and applying it to the subject of this sketch, I must say emphatically that Colonel Benton was a great man.

Of his early life it is sufficient to say that he was born in the state of South Carolina on the 14th day of March, 1782. That his father, a lawyer of some local prominence, died during the minority of the subject of this sketch, possessed of about forty thousand acres of land in the state of Tennessee, and that the widow in a short time afterwards removed to the latter state, taking her entire family with her.

Just when he studied law or commenced the practice of his profession I do not know. In 1846, after he had taken his "appeal to the people" from the instructions contained in what was known as the "Jackson Resolutions," he was in the town of Bowling Green, Pike County, for the purpose of making one of his characteristic speeches of that campaign. I was present

1. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its fourth annual meeting, December 10, 1904.

as he entered the Court House and met an old gentleman who reminded him that he had met him in Tennessee and was a member of the jury in Benton's first case after he commenced practicing law. The suit involved the title to some personal property, the chief item being a lot of pumpkins. Benton said he remembered it well, shaking the old man's hand most cordially he said: "I was right then, wasn't I?" "Yes," the old line Whig said, "but I'll be d—— if you haven't been wrong ever since." With a look of intense disgust he turned upon his heel exclaiming in his own emphatic way, "the h—ll you say!"

Benton's Military Record.

Of his life in Tennessee very little seems to be known.

In the early part of the war of 1812 this was also true. It is said that for a time he acted as aid-de-camp to General Jackson and subsequently went to work to organize a regiment of volunteers for Jackson's army, but this was not completed before the battle of New Orleans, and his troops were disbanded. Soon after this he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the regular service, but he only retained his office a short time. He resigned and then returned to the state of Tennessee.

In referring to his military record, I am reminded of what was said to me by a gentleman of intelligence and observation. This gentleman saw much of the enlisting and mustering in of the troops that were gathered in by General Jackson for the defense of New Orleans. He saw Benton in a colonel's uniform and mounted upon an elegant horse.

In describing his dress and general appearance he said to me, "he was the finest looking man on the continent."

Benton saw at once that at the conclusion of the war with England and the title of the French to the valleys of the two great rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi, the most fertile and extensive country on the globe would be thrown open for settlement and cultivation. There was an anxious and enterprising populace extending from the Carolinas to New England watching eagerly for the moment to arrive when they could

give up their homes in the east and find more fertile lands and larger possessions in the Great West.

Benton saw all this and judged correctly that St. Louis was to be the commercial center of this vast region, and he determined to give up his position in the army, abandon his home in Tennessee and locate permanently at this great central point.

He came to St. Louis ostensibly for the purpose of practicing law, but it is more than likely that he then had a thirst for political life and that he was prompted largely by the desire for political preferment and the honors of official position.

He must have come to St. Louis in the summer or fall of 1815. He there established a law office and became interested in a newspaper, the Missouri Inquirer, a journal that occasioned for him a number of duels, in one of which he killed his opponent, Lucas. He was a genuine American in sentiment and feeling and most profoundly impressed with the great importance of the future trade and commerce of the west and its ultimate influence and control in the policies of the Government. He was a strong supporter of western interest.

Benton and the Missouri Compromise.

Two of the great political questions that had been agitated from the beginning of the Government's existence were settled by the Congressional enactments of 1816. The surveys of the public domain in the then Territory of Missouri had been so far completed that it was determined to put up these lands at public auction, as required by the laws of Congress.

Benton advocated the pre-emption of the public lands. He saw the intense interest manifested by the crowds in attendance upon that sale, and the speedy increase in the settlement and development of the territory, and he at once agitated the question of commencing the work of forming a state government. He was active in having the Territorial Legislature to take the first step in that direction by memorializing congress to pass an enabling act authorizing the holding of a convention to form a constitution upon which Missouri could ask for admission into the Union. The memorial was presented at the session of

1819-20, and the first great war of opinion on the subject of slavery was precipitated upon the country. It was so fierce and so bitter in its character as to threaten a dissolution of the Union as it then existed. Fortunately it resulted in what has been known ever since as "the Missouri Compromise."

Briefly, the terms upon which the people of the territory might apply for admission as a state, were, that it should come into the Union as a slave state, but as to all of the remainder of the territory belonging to the United States "slavery or involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude." Benton advocated the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Upon this compromise the people of the territory elected delegates to a constitutional convention in the month of June following. The convention met in July 1820, and formed a constitution recognizing the existence of slaves as property, and containing a provision which required the Legislative Assembly, when assembled, to pass a law prohibiting free persons of color from entering into and becoming residents of the state. An election for state officers and members of the legislature was held in the month of August following. The legislature met in the month of November, 1820, and David Barton and Thomas H. Benton were elected to the United States Senate.

Benton and Other Public Questions.

It has been commonly said that Col. Benton was opposed to slavery in the abstract. I have no sufficient evidence of that fact in his own declaration or in the political history of the country to prove it. In this connection it should be said to the credit of Col. Benton and for the purpose of fixing his status upon the slave question, that he was an active participant in the work of procuring the act of congress authorizing the voters of the Missouri Territory to form a constitution recognizing the existence of slavery, that the members of the constitutional convention from St. Louis county were unanimously in favor of making Missouri a slave-state. The provision prohibiting free persons of color from other states from entering or remaining in this state was his own work, written with his own hand.

This seems to me to be quite sufficient to disprove the above statement.

The members elected to the Legislature in August, 1820, at least a majority of them, were decidedly in favor of slavery, and they elected Benton to the Senate of the United States at a time when the existence of slavery was the all-absorbing and controlling question in every election. This it seems to me ought to settle the question beyond a reasonable doubt, that Benton was not at heart an anti-slavery man at that time.

No subsequent event in his political career since that time can be shown to prove that he had changed his position on that subject. And the satement I think stands unproved.

On March 4th, 1821, when Benton became a member of the United States Senate, three of the most important questions that had agitated the people and the halls of legislation in the country had been settled. These were (1) the charter of the United States Bank, (2) a protective tariff and (3) slavery.

The question of the power of Congress to charter such an institution as the bank had been bitterly contested by the strict constructionists of the constitution, from the beginning of its existence in 1791. It was always admitted that there was no direct or especial grant of power to Congress to charter such an institution, but that its existence depended entirely upon an implied power under the word **necessary**. The charter of 1791 expired in 1811. It was chartered in 1816 to run for another period of twenty years. It rested again entirely upon the implied power under the word **necessary** in the Constitution.

The financial condition of the country at the end of the war of 1812 being such as in the opinion of many of the strict constructionists to justify their votes in its favor. The bank, however, did not meet the expectations of its friends in the regulating and preserving the monetary affairs of the country so as to prevent the terrible state of things which existed in 1819—20 and for some time afterwards.

Benton's Defense of Clay.

Missouri was finally admitted into the Union as a state a few hours before the commencement of James Monroe's second term, March 4th, 1821, as President. The eight years (from

March 4th, 1817, to March 4th, 1825) in which he filled that office has generally been designated in the political history of the country as "an era of peace and good-will." The line of division between political parties at that time, so as to fix definitely the status of many of the prominent men in public life was not very clearly drawn.

The general divisions of the parties up to that time had simply been between Federalists and Republicans. It seems a little strange to partisans of the present day to note the fact, that John Quincy Adams, the recognized leader of the Federal party of the North, should have been selected by President Monroe, an avowed states right Democrat of the South, as his chief cabinet officer—Secretary of State. This selection of Mr. Adams, however, is not so difficult to account for as the appointment of Henry Clay to the same office by Mr. Adams after he became President in 1825.

I mention this fact for the purpose of calling attention to an act of Col. Benton for which he has scarcely received the credit to which he was entitled.

At the presidential election of 1824, it will be remembered there were four candidates—John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, the nominee of a congressional caucus, Gen. Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. Neither one having received a majority at the polls the election was thrown into the House of Representatives and resulted in the choice of Mr. Adams. Henry Clay was then a member of the House, and, against the public expectation, cast his vote for Adams. The appointment of the distinguished Kentuckian to the office of Secretary of State gave rise to the suspicion and afterwards to the open charge of "bargain and corruption," which for a time greatly agitated the people of the whole country, to the great injury of both the President and his Secretary of State. Col. Benton very promptly exonerated Mr. Clay from the slander of his enemies by making the statement that he (Clay) had told him in private conversation long before the election that he intended to vote for Adams. The circumstances were such as to place Mr. Clay in a very awkward position. His personal and political enemies were hard to convince of his innocence and it was a noble act

and a very gracious thing for a political opponent to do. Col. Benton and Mr. Clay were connected by marriage, the former being a blood-relation of the latter's wife.. It was said—but upon what authority I know not—that being of the same political creed up to the election of 1824, Benton had favored the election of Mr. Clay to the Presidency. In Col. Benton's own language, they had been very intimate up to that time and it was during that intimacy and previous to the election by the House of Representatives that Mr. Clay had confidentially said to Benton that he intended to cast his vote for Mr. Adams. The testimony of Col. Benton was of double value by reason of the fact that his own party was exceedingly anxious to establish the truth of the statement made by Mr. George Kremer, a member of Congress from Pennslyvania, that the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State was the result of a corrupt bargain between him and the President. A verbal report of the speech of John Randolph, of Virginia, made in the Senate of the United States during the discussion of the Panama Mission represented him as saying that a certain letter sent to the Senate by the President "bore the ear-marks" of having been manufactured or forged by the Secretary of State (Clay) and denounced the administration as "a corrupt coalition between the blackleg and the Puritan." Whether the report was true or false, it would have been accepted as a genuine utterance of that erratic statesman.

The result was that Clay challenged him to mortal combat and a dual actually took place between these distinguished men, during the first week in April, 1826, near the city of Washington. Col. Benton was the only disinterested witness, and, after the exchange of two harmless shots, he with some other members of the party, secured a meeting of the two principals at which mutual explanations were made, the difficulty satisfactorily adjusted and friendly greeting exchanged. From this point Clay and Benton drifted farther and farther apart until a state of violent antagonism was reached. This continued for many years and up to a short time before Mr. Clay's death in 1852.

Benton on Nullification.

I pass on to the very celebrated debate in the Senate between Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster upon the resolution of Senator Foote, of Connecticut, in reference to the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of discontinuing the survey and sale of the public lands and to abolish the office of Surveyor General. The debate took a wide range, taking in the relative powers of the State and Federal government, in which the doctrine of nullification by a state against a law of Congress was first asserted as one of the remedies to which it might result in its extremnity. Col. Benton seems not to have taken this as at all serious, said, "he did not believe in anything practical from nullification, did not believe that there would be forcible resistance to the laws of the United States from South Carolina, did not believe in any scheme for disunion." He said he "believed in the patriotism of Mr. Hayne and as he came into the argument on my side in the matter of the public lands so my wishes were with him and I helped him when I could. Of this desire to help and disbelief in unionism, I gave proof in ridiculing as well as I could Mr. Webster's fine peroration to liberty and union and really thought it out of place, a fine piece of rhetoric misplaced for want of circumstances to justify it."

Posterity will hardly give Col. Benton credit for perfect candor in making this statement. It was always his boast that he was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. The fundamental creed of that school was a belief in the doctrine of "State rights" as interpreted by him in the celebrated Resolutions of 1798. It was upon South Carolina's interpretation of these Resolutions that the doctrine of nullification was based. In every step taken by that state in its determination to resist the execution of the provisions of the Tariff Law of 1828, they were guided by the principles of and policy contained in those Resolutions according to the interpretation of the Southern Democrats and the correctness of that interpretation can hardly be questioned today. When the point was reached at which Andrew Jackson felt called upon to issue the celebrated pro-

clamation to the people of that state, giving his interpretation of the Constitution and defining the relative power of the Federal and state governments he enunciated principles and views entirely different from those embodied in these Resolutions. Benton endorsed this proclamation and really became Jackson's chief lieutenant and champion during the whole of the fierce war that was made against his administration by Mr. Calhoun and his followers.

I am aware that Col. Benton claimed at the time that he had given a new interpretation to these Resolutions, but he did not point out in what essential particular it differed from the true interpretation, and the fact would seem to be that that interpretation continued to be maintained by the Southern Democracy down to 1861. The truth must be admitted that the principles enunciated by General Jackson became the creed of a new type of that party which continued to control the affairs of the government down to the end of Van Buren's term in 1841. Calhoun and his followers deserted the Democratic party, formed an alliance with Henry Clay and the Whig party and through the last term of Jackson and the four years of Van Buren assisted in overthrowing the Jacksonian Democracy. There never was a more exciting and enthusiastic political canvas than that of 1840, when Wm. Henry Harrison, the candidate of the Whig party, defeated Mr. Van Buren—the pet of General Jackson—for the Presidency.

There was a singular combination of political elements that secured the final overthrow and defeat of the Jackson Democracy. Col. Benton did not go down at that time with the wing of the party to which he really belonged. Nominally he was classed with the organization as it was then constituted.

Benton and the Bank Agitation.

He was re-elected to the Senate in 1844 for another term of six years, but the "handwriting on the wall" was already beginning to appear. Those who then began to take charge of the party machinery had no use for Benton, nor any other Jackson Democrat. Nobody doubted the fact that Benton had been truly loyal to the party and Jackson's chief lieutenant

from the day of his first inauguration down to the end of his successor's term of office, (1828-1840).

In his first annual message to Congress in 1829 President Jackson declared his hostility to the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. The charter granted in 1816 did not expire until 1836. Jackson anticipated that the friends of the Bank would not wait until near the end of the limit of the time of its existence before an application would be made for its renewal. He knew that the Bank was powerful and would use every means that it could control to perpetuate its existence. The voters of the country had to be aroused and prepared for the contest when it should come. From the moment that his hostility to the Bank was made known until the last day of its existence Benton was recognized as the leader of the anti-Bank forces in Congress, and the chief spokesman of the President. He bore the brunt of the fierce attacks made by such men as Clay, Webster, and a host of other distinguished advocates of the Bank and who continued to fight without loss of courage until the bill was passed in June, 1832. General Jackson was supposed to be in great peril. He was a candidate for re-election in November following. Neither he nor his lieutenant were intimidated by the situation. The bill was promptly vetoed. The great battle in the halls of Congress to pass it over the veto was fought to a final defeat and Jackson was triumphantly elected in the month of November following.

I pass over the period which followed and begin with the effort to recharter the Bank during the administration of John Tyler. Elected as vice president on the ticket of General Harrison, he proved to be a great disappointment to the party. A brief reference to the condition of affairs and the organization of parties after the death of nullification is necessary in order to explain what followed so far as Col. Benton's subsequent career was concerned.

Benton on Party Control.

John C. Calhoun and his adherents, among whom was Mr. Tyler, openly allied themselves with Henry Clay and the Whig

party. These men never intended this alliance to be anything more than a temporary one to defeat General Jackson and ultimately to destroy his successor, Martin Van Buren. To accomplish that it had to be maintained until an opportunity should occur to put the Southern Democracy in control of the government. That meant the ultimate destruction of Col. Benton, Silas Wright, of New York, and all men of that class. This purpose was greatly aided by the agitation of the slavery question by the North, which was commenced before the end of Jackson's second term. Congress was flooded with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This greatly irritated the South and ultimately led to the formation of a design on the part of the Southern politicians to extend the area of slavery ostensibly for the purpose of preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave states. They honestly believed that the movement meant an ultimate attack against the institution of slavery in the states and the ultimate destruction on the continent.

The States-right element in the Whig party secured the nomination of Mr. Tyler. The old Bank failed in its application for renewal of its charter and its final death occurred in 1836, upon the expiration of the charter of 1816. The Jackson Democracy of course was jubilant, Benton imagined that it had a permanent lease of power. After the death of the Bank there was a money crisis and a condition of affairs in the business world that baffled all description.

This condition lasted until after the election of 1840 and was the cause of the overwhelming defeat of the Democrat party. A Whig President and Vice President, were chosen with a decided Whig majority in both houses of Congress. An extra session was speedily called and a Bank bill satisfactory to the majority was speedily passed and the country was hopeful of a speedy return to an era of prosperity and happiness.

To the utter amazement of the Whigs, both in Congress and the country, the bill was vetoed and the betrayal of the Whig party was complete.

A new cabinet with John C. Calhoun as Secretary of State

demonstrated to the country that a new power was in control of the country. The truth is that the Whig party was dead never to be resurrected, and the Jacksonian Democracy had been misplaced and superceded by an element that would thereafter rule the country. In order to secure this position the old lieutenants and henchmen of Andrew Jackson were sent to the rear and a new arrangement made of all the party forces.

The party caucus and convention was declared to be the supreme power in all directions. Benton fought against this with all his might, but to no purpose. He denounced it as "a tyranny that completely destroyed the right of private judgment and left the individual member of the party at the mercy of men, tricksters and managers of the machine." As a necessary means to secure the vote of the united party, a candidate was nominated and elected to the Presidency in 1844 who was acceptable to General Jackson. Mr. Van Buren with a majority of votes in the convention was unceremoniously set aside and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was put in his place. In the election of 1844 the chief issue was the annexation of Texas. Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate, had declared himself as opposed to it, while Mr. Polk and the entire Democratic party, with some few exceptions in the north and east, were enthusiastic in its favor. Clay was misunderstood and defeated, while the Democratic party with the connivance of President Tyler and his cabinet hastily consummated the act of annexation in the very last hours of Tyler's administration. The result of that annexation, as everybody knows, was the war with Mexico in 1846.

Benton and the Annexation of Texas.

By the course of events in the annexation of Texas, Col. Benton was placed in a false position and from which he was never able to extricate himself. He believed that that territory ought as a matter of right to belong to the United States. His firm conviction at all times was that it had been unnecessarily relinquished to Spain by the treaty made with that country in 1819. It was afterwards secured by Mexico by its revolt from

Spain and the United States had lost its title to it and could only recover it by legitimate, peaceful means.

At the time of the passage of the act annexing that territory, there was an actual war pending between Mexico and inhabitants of the territory who were in rebellion against the authority of Mexico. Of course the act of annexation amounted to an assumption of the war by our own government and a pledge to prosecute it for the benefit of the rebels. Benton believed that it would have been an easy matter to have secured it by treaty and purchase and that it would have been cheaper and better in all respects to have pursued such a policy. He was unquestionably right and posterity will so decide.

It will serve no good purpose now to discuss the question as to who was responsible for the war with Mexico. My only object now is to place Col. Benton in a proper position and to relieve him from the charge of being false to the wishes and best interests of his constituents and of the South generally. He never objected to the making of that country slave territory if they so desired. The entire country was south of 36 degrees and 30 minutes and if it had been a part of the territory of the United States at the time of the admission of Missouri it would have been covered by the Missouri Compromise and would have been properly slave territory, if the people of that territory so desired. He was simply opposed to the acquisition of any territory for the avowed purpose of the existence of slavery.

Benton's Slavery Attitude.

It is proper here to state what I believe to have been the true position of Col. Benton on the question of slavery. From the time he entered the Senate as representative of Missouri he recognized the fact that he was there simply by virtue of the provisions of the act by which his state became a member of the Union, and that this law of Congress was intended to be a full and complete settlement of the question of slavery as to all territory then held by the government, or, this act of Congress he considered to be as sacred and as binding as the Constitution itself and to be faithfully kept and observed for all time.

He believed that the ordinance of 1787 was intended to be a final settlement of the question, and the only reason why Missouri should have been exempt from its provisions was that slaves were actually held in Missouri and was authorized and permitted it to exist by the choice of the people themselves at the time of asking admission into the Union. This position may not have been correct yet it was his political creed and all of his official acts in regard to the institution of slavery were controlled by this opinion.

He was identified with the slave-party when Missouri asked admission into the Union and his position was always that the people of the soverign state, or those who owned slave property, had a right to decide that question for themselves. He always opposed any act of the government that looked like an interference with that institution as it actually existed in the states. He held these views to the end of his career.

In all the violent opposition and abuse that he encountered during the years '49 and '50, he simply appealed to his record in the senate, just as if that was "known and read of all men." Every effort that was made to interrogate him upon the stump he regarded as a personal insult. "Why should a respectable woman of known reputation and character be insulted with an inquiry as to the rectitude of her conduct and the purity of her life?" Such a question, he argued, would not be permitted or tolerated in any community. And so with his position in regard to slavery in the states and in the territories as well.

During his whole public career he had opposed the organization of any party upon one idea. Parties were the natural and legitimate products of the different theories and policies of government, according to the different interpretations of the Federal Constitution. He always opposed the agitation of the slavery question, because it was sectional in its character, disturbing the peace of the country, and injuriously affecting the interests of the people who alone had the right to decide as their judgment and conscience directed them. But all this was of no avail. Men's prejudices were excited, their passions inflamed and a spirit of hate and intolerance dominated the

masses of the people and the fate of the old senator was sealed by the result of the election of 1850.

Benton and the British Boundary.

In all the troubles and disappointments connected with the last few years of his senatorial career he had at least one great triumph to boast of. That was in the settlement of the question of boundary between the United States and the British possessions. When the question of terminating the joint occupation by England and the United States of the territory of Oregon and fixing definitely the boundary line that separated Canada from our own domain was finally presented to Congress, an erronous impression prevailed in that body, as well as among the masses of the people, in regard to it. A majority of the lower House of Congress and many men outside of that body, including the distinguished senator from Kentucky, Henry Clay, went to the extreme of claiming the entire territory up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes.

The motto of this party being "fifty-four—forty, or fight." That was almost the universal cry both in congress and among the masses, until the country had almost reached the point of an open rupture with England. The bill finally reached the Senate where it was discussed with great warmth and ability. Benton waited until the extremists had exhausted the subject on their side of it.

When it was announced that Benton would speak and that his views would be against the popular opinion upon the subject, the senate chamber was packed to the utmost of its capacity. The House adjourned and almost the entire body crowded into the senate chamber to swell the immense audience. The speech was the supreme effort of his life. It amounted to an absolute demonstration of the fact that the United States did not have title to an inch of land, north of the 49th parallel of latitude. When Benton's speech was concluded the question was settled, and the settlement was for all time to come.

Judge W. V. N. Bay, of Missouri, who was present on the occasion gave me an interesting account of the whole scene. As quick as he could get through the crowd he started down

Pennsylvania avenue for the purpose of overtaking Col. Benton, who, he learned had gone out ahead of him. He soon saw the stalwart form of the old Senator making his way to his home, "solitary and alone" according to his favorite expression—the crowd giving was as he approached. Hurrying on he soon overtook him. Taking him by the arm and greeting him most cordially, Benton turned towards him and grasping his hand said to him, "You ought to have been in the senate chamber this afternoon and heard my great speech on the Oregon bill." He replied, "I was there, Colonel, and heard every word of it." With a triumphant look and a tone of exultation he exclaimed: "Didn't I give Clay h—ll!"

The End of Benton.

But enough. He was defeated in the contest for re-election to the senate. Unwilling to retire to private life, he became a candidate in St. Louis for a seat in the lower house of congress, and was elected. His career in that body added nothing to his fame, and he came back to Missouri determined to make another appeal to the people of the state for an endorsement of his political opinions and his distinguished services in the senate for a period of time, which he delighted to call his "Six Roman Lustrums."

But his race was run. He realized now that his career was ended. He spent the short remnant of his life in preparing for publication his famous and valuable political history, which he was pleased to call "Benton's Thirty Years View."

Benton's was a noble personage. His was a stalwart frame, above the ordinary height and with a physical constitution well preserved by a life of prudent, temperate habits, he had the proud dignified appearance of the Roman Senator. This was the model which during his entire public life he kept steadily in view and sought to emulate. He died in Washington City on the 10th of April, 1858, being a little more than seventy-six years of age. He might have left as his epitaph, the well known words of Horace: "**Exegi monumentum aere perennius.**" (I have erected a monument more enduring than brass.)

THOS. J. C. FAGG.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI. (1)

The time allotted to this paper will not permit any attention to be given to either the Indians who roamed over Missouri for an unknown length of time or to the earliest voyages of discovery and explorations conducted by the French throughout the Mississippi valley. These subjects are nevertheless vitally connected with that of the early settlements in Missouri. The location of the earliest settlements depended very largely upon the route of the earliest voyages and explorations, this growth and spread depended, in part, at least, upon the attitude and the strength of the Indians among whom the settlements were made. If nothing else were said this brief statement shows how very essential to a proper conception of the subject in hand is a knowledge of the early explorations and of the Indians. But as we are more or less acquainted with these subjects from our general study of the United States, it will be well to comply with the limits of the time allotted and pass at once to the consideration of the subject itself.

It will not be possible to deal with many separate settlements in any detail, nor would it be desirable here. It will be attempted, however, to present the motives which brought men in early times into what is now Missouri and to study the growth and spread of these settlements. In this manner the settlements of the French will be considered first, then those by the Americans will be taken up and followed until about 1830. That date will be a good stopping point, for, as we shall see, a large portion of the state had been fairly well occupied by that time, and that movement had already begun which completed in a very short time the occupation of the entire state.

1. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its first annual meeting, December, 5, 1901.

Before considering the earliest settlements in Missouri, something should be said concerning those in what is now Illinois. Shortly after the expeditions of Marquette and La Salle, a number of settlements were establishd in Illinois chiefly along the Mississippi and its tributaries. Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Fort Charters were old places sometime before there was more than one permanent settlement in Missouri. The earliest pioneers in Illinois were chiefly from Canada. They were, as a rule, hunters, giving themselves to living in the woods, and to trafficing in furs, though they did a little farming here and there. Flint in his Geography of the Mississippi Valley points out the striking contrast between the earliest settlers of Upper Louisiana and those of Lower Louisiana, the former having come, as we have just seen from Canada, the latter chiefly direct from France, many being of noble descent. (Flint Geography, pp. 160-1.)

It is important to make these observations concerning the Illinois settlements, for with the exception of a few who came from Canada, all the earliest permanent pioneers in what is now Missouri, were as far as could be ascertained, from these Canadian-French settlements in Illinois, especially from those settlements along the east bank of the Mississippi. Even those who came direct from Canada came by the way of these Illinois settlements. The movement into what is now Missouri is really then a continuation of that movement begun by the Canadian French into the Illinois country. A number of towns along the west bank of the Mississippi were founded by people who immigrated from towns almost directly opposite on the eastern bank. Ste. Genevieve is one of the most striking examples of this fact, having been settled by the people from Kaskaskia just across the river.

Up to 1763 but one permanent settlement had been formed, and that was Ste. Genevieve. But prior to 1763 numerous temporary settlements had been formed. During the early part of the eighteenth century three classes of men came into Missouri, and by these sometimes temporary settlements were made.

The first of these classes was made up of mining adventurers. The earliest movement into what is now Missouri was prompted by the hope of finding great and immediate riches in mines. Scarcely had the Mississippi been explored by La Salle and a settlement been established at its mouth when the authorities at Paris, and later those at New Orleans, fitted out exploring expeditions to open up mines in Upper Louisiana. In the search for minerals in Missouri, the people from the Illinois settlements joined the explorers from France and New Orleans. Instead of finding gold or silver or copper as was expected, these adventurers found lead, but for a long time the results of lead mining were unprofitable, owing to the ignorance of the proper methods of mining and smelting. The upper course of the Meramec was the scene of most of the early lead mining.

The second class of men who came into Missouri in the early part of the eighteenth century, was made up of hunters and fur traders, chiefly from the Illinois country. They made their camps here and there along the Missouri and its tributaries, and carried on a rather extensive traffic with the Indians.

The third class was made up of the soldiers who were sent out by the French government to garrison the country. So far as I have been able to investigate this matter from the English sources, only one French garrison was established in Missouri prior to 1763. In 1721 the French prepared to meet the expedition sent out by the Spanish for the purpose of taking up a position on the Missouri so as to check the movement of the French further to the West. As a result a post was erected above the mouth of Grand river and called Fort Orleans, and a garrison stationed there.

Notwithstanding the fact that these three classes of men came into Missouri and penetrated far into the interior in the early part of the eighteenth century, but one permanent settlement, Ste. Genevieve, was established by 1762. Just when it was established is not positively known, but evidence shows it was an old town by 1762. What class or classes of the three

just mentioned, formed Ste. Genevieve is not known, but is likely it was established by the mining class, as the town was a place of deposit and trade for the miners to the west from earliest times.

There are a number of reasons why no other permanent settlements were established by these men. The following are obvious. The mining region was rough and uninviting, and for this reason the operators prepared to retain their residence in Illinois. Notwithstanding the fact that by 1763 the mines were yielding good returns to the operators, no permanent settlements were made in the mining region itself until that year. Perhaps the establishment of Ste. Genevieve as a place of deposit for the lead mined to the west, made anything besides a mining camp unnecessary. (Stoddard's Sketches of Louisiana, p. 224.)

The hunters and fur traders found it possible to carry on their traffic in Missouri and reside in the settlements in Illinois, if they maintained a residence anywhere, and like the mining operators appeared to prefer such an arrangement. As a usual thing forts are transformed into permanent communities, either the soldiers on their release from service continuing at the places as citizens or others locating around the fort for purposes of protection. Perhaps Fort Orleans would have become a permanent settlement had it not been destroyed by the Indians in 1724 or '25. As there was apparently no other garrison established in Missouri before 1763, the garrisons in Illinois sufficing for all Upper Louisiana, it is very plain why the soldiers did not contribute to the establishment of permanent settlements in this very early period.

From what has been said it is evident that only one permanent settlement had been made in what is now Missouri prior to 1762 because there was no great and urgent necessity for more and because those who came into the country were content to carry on their business in Missouri and hold their residence in Illinois. It appears that an unpopular act on the part of the home government, France, was necessary to inaugurate the Trans-mississippi movement of the French of

Illinois into Missouri. That unpopular act was the cession of Louisiana east of the Mississippi to England in 1763.

When this cession became known to the French inhabitants along the east bank of the Mississippi, great indignation was expressed at the conduct of the mother country. As a result most of them descended the Mississippi and settled in New Orleans or in other parts of Lower Louisiana, while a large number crossed the river and settled in Missouri (Brackenridge's Views of Louisana, p. 235). At the time of the emigration out of Illinois it was not known to the emigrants that Western Louisiana had been transferred to Spain. What the effect would have been if this transfer had been known by the Illinois emigrants, it is hard to say. Edwards in his Great West says the French were very indignant when they learned in April, 1764, of the secret treaty between Spain and France which provided for the transfer of Western Louisiana to Spain. In ignorance of the exact condition of things concerning Western Louisiana a number of villages along the east bank of the Mississippi were depopulated and moved en masse to the west side. It was when this excitement and indignation over the transfer of Eastern Louisiana to England was at its height that Laclede spent the winter of 1763-64 at Fort Chartres, a town in Illinois on the Mississippi. Taking advantage of the conditions of the minds of the people, he conceived the idea of forming a settlement at once around the post he had started out to establish, and so he invited as many as would to go with him. The result was that his movement sprang at once into a little village which afterwards became St. Louis.

The village of St. Phillipe, four miles north of St. Charters, containing ten or twelve families, was deserted by 1765 by all but one family, all but this one family going to the west side of the river. So in earnest were these people in leaving a country forsaken by their mother government that thy brought all their movables, and some even tore down their houses and carried what they could of them over with them. (Billon Annals of St. Louis, pp. 13-22.) What happened in this village likely happened in other villages of the same region.

This immigration of the French from Illinois which began in 1764, was accelerated, says Brackenridge in his Views of Louisiana, by the conquests of George Rogers Clarke in 1779, but how much this acceleration amounted to, it is difficult to ascertain. (Brackenridge's Views, p. 235.)

The settlements in the present limits of Missouri from the earliest permanent ones down to about 1803 were established in a strip of country about fifty miles in width extending along the Mississippi from a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri to the southern boundary of the state. This strip contains a number of streams which, with the exception of the Meramec, run almost directly east into the Mississippi and which again, excepting the Meramec, are not more than fifty miles in length. Naturally, of course, the first settlements were made on the Mississippi and usually opposite those on the other side, as has already been pointed out. It was not long until other settlements began to spring up along these small streams just mentioned and along the Meramec and the Missouri both of which extended far beyond this frontier line. The necessity for water communication and the excellent soil along these streams made these banks desirable places for settlement.

The history of Louisiana prior to its purchase by the United States is usually divided into these epochs: First, the period of French domination, 1673-1762; second, the period of Spanish domination, 1762-1800; third, the period of retrocession, 1800-1803. This division applies very well in its political history but it is not at all applicable in its social history. When considered from the standpoint of the people, their character, nationality, and ideas, there is but one period prior to the purchase of 1803, and that we may call the period of French influence and French population. Notwithstanding the fact that France ceded all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi together with the Isle of Orleans to Spain in 1762, this ceded territory never became Spanish in population or spirit. Except in the partial use of Spanish in a few official documents, it remained French during the entire period of Spanish domination. Billon says

in his Annals: "The intercourse of the people with each other and their governors, their commerce, trade, habits, customs, manners, amusements, marriages, funerals, services in church, parish registers—everything was in French. The governors and officials all spoke French—it was a sine qua non in their appointment. The few Spaniards that settled in the country soon became Frenchmen, and all married French wives; no Frenchman became a Spaniard; two or three of the governors were Frenchmen by birth; wives of Governors Piernes and Trudeau were French ladies. Outside of the Spanish officials and soldiers not more than twelve Spaniards came to St. Louis during the domination of Spain. Governor Delasus was born in France and [Governor] Trudeau [was] of French stock, and nearly all the papers in the archives were in the French language. The country was only Spanish in possession, but practically French in all else." (Billon Annals of St. Louis, pp. 67-77.)

Another authority has pointed out that as late as 1786 the village records and registers of deaths and marriages show that there were were but few of the two thousand credited to the province at that time who were not descendants of French stock. (Carr's Missouri, pp. 56-57.)

If the names of towns are an index to the nationality of a people the names of the towns in Missouri prior to the purchase of 1803 add to the testimony adduced above as to the predominating French influence. After some investigation, but two places in Missouri prior to 1803 have been found bearing Spanish names, and these are New Madrid and Gayoso. The great majority of the villages, settlements, creeks, rivers, etc, bore French names, though some had Indian names and some later on had American names. Notwithstanding this preponderating French influence and population in the seventeenth century, so great have been the changes in these old French villages that at present the names are the only things to remind us of their former French population. Until recently a number of the oldest towns in the state maintained French quarters, but these have today practically disappeared.

It would be proper to say something at this point of the character of the French settlers in Missouri if time would permit. We will, therefore, pass to a consideration of the early settlements made by the Americans in Missouri.

It is quite impossible to say when the first America settled in Missouri. Billon says that the first one came to St. Louis in 1781 (Billon Annals, p. 398), and it is possible this may have been the earliest American in Missouri. At any rate it was not until well along toward the close of the eighteenth century that Americans began to come in anything like large numbers, and for this there is very good reason. The Alleghanies had not been crossed for purposes of settlement by the Americans until about the eve of the Revolution. Between th Alleghanies and the Mississippi is a vast stretch of territory and it was not to be expected that in the movement of the population over the mountains, certain portions of this territory would be fairly well occupied before that movement pressed on beyond the Mississippi. The settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee was much more rapid than men of the time thought it would be. Jefferson is said to have declared it would take a thousand years to settle the Trans-Alleghaney region. In 1785 Kentucky had a population of 12,000 and in 1790 she had 73,677, while Tennessee had 35,691.

To understand the early settlement of our western country, one must always keep in mind the desire of the early pioneer to get a little further beyond the existing frontier line. The love of independence and of freedom from restraint and the relish for hazardous enterprises, led many to forsake the old communities and settle in a new and remote country. Often the prospect of greater prosperity and wealth, or the hope of retriving financial misfortunes, indeed many to seek new homes in the far west. These motives are seen in the movement of people from Virginia and the Carolinas into Kentucky and Tennessee, and are seen again in the movement from Kentucky and Tennessee into Missouri and Arkansas.

In discussing certain specific causes which turned people in the direction of Missouri we will give first place, first in point of time at least, to this desire of men of certain types of men

such as Daniel Boone, to live where there is plenty of room. For such men, Kentucky in 1785 with her population of 12,000 was getting "crowded" and the more restless began to move on. The direction of the flow of the river of Kentucky would indicate that the first movement out of Kentucky was principally into the old Northwest Territory. Naturally the Kentucky emigrants would follow the Ohio, and the Ohio would bring them to the southeastern portion of what is now Missouri.

Just at this time there occurred an event which we may call the second cause for American immigration to Missouri. This was the ordinance of 1787. By providing for the exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory, the ordinance of 1787 resulting in checking the immigration of slaveholding settlers into this territory and in driving many who had already located there into what is now Missouri. Moreover it deflected that current of emigration which had been flowing out of Kentucky into the region north of Ohio, into the Missouri country. We may safely say there was at this time the beginning of that Kentucky and Virginia stock which became and is today such a prominent element in the population of this state.

What the ordinance of 1787 began, the special inducements offered by Spain to American settlers in 1797 greatly augmented. The former may be said to have acted negatively, the latter positively, in inducing immigration to Missouri. These Spanish offers to American settlers may be considered the third cause for American immigration to Missouri. At this time it seems that Spain feared an attack by the English from Canada upon Upper Louisiana, and in order to meet this invasion successfully, it was considered advisable to increase the population of Upper Louisiana. To this end special inducements were offered to American settlers. Lands were granted freely save the expense of surveys and office fees and taxes were reduced until they were practically nothing. The effectiveness of these inducements is best seen in the increase of population. In 1785 there was in what is now Missouri a population of

2,093; in 1799, 6,028; in 1803 there was in all Upper Louisiana, it is estimated, 10,340, and some have estimated as high as 16,000 though that is undoubtedly too much. American immigration is largely the cause of this rapid increase.

The fourth cause for the immigration of Americans to Missouri was the Louisiana purchase. The effect of the purchase upon immigration is plainly seen. In spite of the inducements offered, many were deterred from immigrating to Missouri because it was foreign territory. The purchase gave assurance of protection by the United States, and this brought a very large increase of population in Missouri in a single decade. In 1803 the estimated population of Upper Louisiana was about 10,000; in 1804 it was about 25,000. The greater part of the American immigrants came from Kentucky and Tennessee. However, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the Carolinas —states which were easily connected with the few routes of travel from the east to the west—sent out emigrants for Missouri though of course in not as great numbers as Kentucky and Tennessee.

The purchase of Louisiana was not agreeable to the majority of those who had settled in it prior to 1803. Stoddard says that only a few French and a part of the Americans were at first reconciled to it, but they never manifested any discontent. (Stoddard's Sketches, p. 311.) Ashe in his Travels, published in 1806, says that some families of a high sense of honor, either offered at a great loss, or abandoned, their lands, some of them well improved and quite valuable, and went into Mexico. But beyond the emigration of these Spanish and few officials who returned to their native countries, the population of Upper Louisiana suffered no further decrease. (Ashe's Travels, p. 287.)

As a result of the transfer, a distinction of classes soon sprang up, and the simple social democracy of the old French regions disappeared. While personal property, except a few things, decreased in value 200 per cent, real property increased 500 per cent. The principal villages soon began to change in appearance and put on American aspects; more life and bustle

was seen in them. While it was a matter of doubt whether the poorer classes received any immediate benefit from the change, yet it was acknowledged that the middle classes had been greatly benefited thereby and it was only this class that seemed at all satisfied with the transfer. (Brackenridge's View, pp. 240-251.)

American immigrants settled at first within the original area of settlements, either locating in those settlements already established or in the unoccupied territory within the frontier lines. The majority of the earliest American immigrants preferred to live out in the country, separated from each other, rather than build towns of their own or settle in those already established by the French. This desire for country contrasts very strikingly with the French desire for town life. It may be well to note here that in settling in an entirely new country these American pioneers preferred to locate along the streams and in the edge of the timber. They settled on streams for purposes chiefly of easy communication with the outside world, and along the edge of timber for the purposes of protection and because they considered the prairie land unfit for cultivation.

Within ten years after the purchase a noticeable change had taken place in the extent and character of the Missouri settlements. The population had been more than doubled and it was estimated that four-fifths of the people then in Missouri were Americans. Moreover the American settlers had, by the close of the first decade of American control, begun to make their way out into the interior, some going as far as two hundred miles from the settled regions. Several new districts were formed. In 1804 Upper Louisiana was divided into six districts: St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid and Arkansas. Of these the first five lay in part at least in Missouri. In 1813 another district was organized in Missouri and called Washington county. The growth of settlements around the mines at Potosi and vicinity necessitated the formation of a new county out of a part of original Ste. Genevieve district, and in this way Washington

county was formed. In 1815 Lawrence county was formed out of a part of New Madrid county. In 1816 Howard county was formed out of the western parts of St. Louis and St. Charles districts. The erection of Howard county was due to the establishment of settlements in what was known as Boon's Lick territory, and the name Boon's Lick leads us to a consideration of the movement into the interior.

The first movement into the interior was up the Missouri river. Several things contributed to give this direction to the movement: first, the Missouri river was the one great natural route leading far into the interior; second, the rough and hilly country in the southeastern part of the state, Washington, Iron and Madison counties, and the swampy region in Bollinger and Stoddard counties, formed natural barriers in the way of early expansion directly west of the original strip of settlements along the Mississippi; third, not only were these regions just west of the original strip of settlements difficult for immigration to pass through, but they were ill adapted to the purposes of the immigrants. The settlers were seeking farming lands, and this they could find in greatest abundance along the Missouri. As a result of this deflection of the current of American immigration into Missouri, the central interior was fairly well populated before the region just beyond the second tier of counties west of the Mississippi to the south of the Missouri began to be occupied.

At the same time the movement up the Missouri was going on, a similar one, though not so strong at first, was ascending the Mississippi and its tributaries. The northeastern part of the state was free from those barriers which we noted in the southeastern part of the state. It was a level country and its streams that emptied into the Mississippi opened the way far into the interior north of the Missouri, and very soon after the population began to move up the Mississippi north of St. Louis, settlements sprang up on Salt river, Cuivre river and other tributaries of the Mississippi.

To return to the movement up the Missouri. The settlements in the interior along the Missouri clustered thickest in

early times in what was known as Boon's Lick country. The name Boon's Lick was first applied to that spot in Howard county where the Boones made salt in 1807, later it was applied to all the territory along the Missouri above Cedar creek, and finally it was used to designate the whole interior of the state. (Switzler's Missouri, p. 176). When Boone's Lick was first settled it appears that but two other settlements existed along the Missouri between it and the St. Charles settlements, Loutre Island bordering on Montgomery county and Cote sans Dessein in Callaway county. For all practical purposes it might be said that at the time the entire region between Boone's Lick and the vicinity of St. Charles was unoccupied.

Though the occupation of Boone's Lick country began in 1810 the great rush of people into it did not commence until 1817 and '18. For this three reasons may be assigned: First, it took time for the fame of this particular section to get circulated among the prospective immigrants; second, the sickly season of 1811 in Missouri, commonly called "the year of waters" discouraged immigration. The great amount of sickness broke up some of the new settlements in Boone's Lick and on Salt river; third, the war of 1812 had its influence in checking immigration to Missouri. The hostilities of the Indians were the feature of the war that checked immigration.

With the return of peace, this tide of immigration which had been arrested by the war set in with greater strength towards Missouri, and most of these new immigrants settled in Boone's Lick country. The current had got towards this part of the state because of the name it had gotten in the western and southern states as being more desirable than any other. The imaginations of the people, who talked about it as they were about to set out for Missouri, made this special tract to flow with milk and honey and to blossom as the rose. Boone's Lick became the common center of hopes and the common point of union for the people. If, says Flint, one should ask an immigrant to Missouri where he was going, the answer invariably was "to Boone's Lick to be sure." (Flint's Recollections, pp. 202-203.)

The Franklin Intelligencer, a paper published at Franklin, the most important town and county seat of Howard county in its early days in its issue of Novemeber 19th, 1819, says: "Immigration to this country and particularly to this county during this season, exceeds almost belief. Those who have arrived in this quarter are principally from Kentucky, Tennessee, etc. Immense numbers of wagons, carriages, carts, etc., with families, have for some time past been daily arriving. During October it is stated no less than 271 wagons and four wheeled carriages and 55 two wheeled carriages and carts, passed near St. Charles bound principally for Boone's Lick. It is calculated that the number of persons accompanying these wagons, etc., could not be less than 3,000. It is stated in the St. Louis Enquirer of the the 10th inst. that about twenty wagons, etc., per week passed through St. Charles for the last nine or ten weeks with wealthy, respectable immigrants from various states whose united numbers are supposed to amount to 12,000. The county of Howard, already respectable in numbers, will soon possess a vast population and no section of our country presents a fairer prospect to the immigrant." (History of Howard and Cooper Counties, pp. 126-7.)

By 1830 Boone's Lick territory had become quite populous and the movement of population up the Missouri had reached the western boundary of the state. In and around the two counties of Clay and Jackson, the population had grown to be almost as dense as that in Boone's Lick and that in the original area of settlements along the Mississippi. Between these three centers of population along the Missouri those around St. Louis, Boone's Lick, and what is now Kansas City, sparse settlements had been established all along, so that there was some sort of continuous occupation from the mouth of Missouri to the western boundary of the state.

By this time flank movements of population on either side of the Missouri had begun. People were beginning to move from the river counties to the southern and northern parts of the state. The movement to the north of the Missouri met a corrosponding movement west from the Mississippi, and these

leans from exercising any direct supervision of the northern district, the government of which was left largely to the discretion of the lieutenant governor, residing at St. Louis, who was vested with civil and military powers. The civil law was embodied in the Code of the Indies, which consisted of a digest of Spanish colonial laws, supplemented, when the code was silent, by the general laws of Spain. The whole system was permeated by the features of the Roman civil law. (2) While these laws furnished equitable means for the regulation of private relations a practical difficulty was presented in the fact that in Upper Louisiana, at least, the subordinate officials were not familiar with their provisions. Moreover, while civil and military powers were distinct, the situation of the colony as a frontier post, against the English in Canada on one hand, and the Indians on the other, necessitated the vesting of both classes of powers in the same official and, under the conditions which existed, the military features predominated. The administration of justice was summary and reflected the personal views of the particular official. Appeals could be taken to the lieutenant governor and, from him, to the governor general at New Orleans. (3)

While the powers of the government were theoretically absolute they were exercised for the most part judiciously and the people were contented. Very little occasion existed for legislation or governmental administration as social conditions were extremely primitive. Lawyers were practically unknown. The simple village life of the people, which was similar to that of a large family, was free from crimes and the few civil disputes were left to the arbitration of neighbors or the informal determination of the officials. (4)

2. Stoddard, Sketches of Louisiana. Chap. VIII.

3. An effective check upon the use of appeals as dilatory proceedings existed in the rule that before the appeal could be taken the appellant must pay the full amount of the judgment against him, the respondent being required to give bonds to refund same in case the appeal was sustained. See Stoddard, Sketches, p. 285.

4. Stoddard states that the disgrace which was attached to criminal punishments affected the peaceably inclined Creoles while the terror of such punishments (the dungeons of Havana or transportation to the Mexican mines) held the American settlers in awe. Sketches, p. 283.

While there were few Europeans in Upper Louisiana, at the time of its cession by France to Spain, those who came in the next succeeding years were almost exclusively French and French-Canadians. French ideas and social institutions prevailed throughout the Spanish period. The last decade of the eighteenth century, however, witnessed the beginning of a movement of Americans across the Mississippi and, at the time of the cession, the latter constituted a relatively large percentage of the population. In a Description of Louisiana, communicated to Congress on November 14, 1803, (5) it is stated that, at New Madrid, the inhabitants are mostly Americans and that "at least two-fifths, if not a greater proportion of all the settlers on the Spanish side of the Mississippi in the Illinois country, are likewise supposed to be Americans." Major Stoddard, who became the first American governor of the District in 1804, estimated that at that time the Americans constituted more than three-fifths of the total population. (6)

The total population of Upper Louisiana, at the time of the Purchase, is variously estimated at from 6,000 to 16,000. As the documents submitted to congress in 1803, show a population in this district of more than 6,000 in 1799, which was largely increased by American immigration in the next succeeding five years (7), it is probable that the total population in 1804 did not fall short of 10,340, which was the estimate of Major Stoddard. (8) This movement of Americans into the territory which was much more rapid after the Louisiana Purchase, serves to explain not only the changes in social and industrial life but also the practical absence of French and Spanish influence upon early legislation.

It must not be assumed, however, that the Americans of Upper Louisiana were enthusiastic over its acquisition by the United States. Many of them had left the United States because of special inducements offered by the Spanish governor

5. Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous. Vol. I. pp. 344-356.
6. Sketches, p. 225.
7. Amer. State Papers, Miscell., Vol. I. pp. 382, 383.
8. Sketches, p. 226.

The District of Louisiana was attached for governmental purposes to the Territory of Indiana, which, in 1800, had been separated from the Northwest Territory and had been given a separate territorial organization. (14) The connection which was thus established with Indiana Territory, and through it, with the Northwest Territory, was of great significance for the early legislation since it determined the source of most of these acts as will be indicated below. The governor and chief officials of Indiana Territory were to possess and exercise in the District of Louisiana, jurisdiction similar to that which they possessed in their own Territory. Hence, in order to understand the character of the governmental organization in the former we must consider the central government of Indiana Territory.

The act which organized this territory provided a government that, in all important respects, was similar to that provided by the famous Ordinance of 1787. The chief officials consisted of a governor, secretary and three judges appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The governor was the chief executive, the judges, or any two of them, constituted a court with common law jurisdiction, while the governor and judges acting together constituted the law making body. In accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 the legislative power of the governor and judges was restricted to the adoption of "such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary." The governor and judges of the Northwest Territory appear to have experienced considerable difficulty in restricting their legislation to the laws of the original states and frequently violated this provision. In legislating for the District of Louisiana, however, the Indiana authorities had broader powers, in this respect, than those which they possessed with reference to their own Territory. They were authorized "to make all laws which they may deem conducive to the good government of the inhabitants," subject, of course, to the qualification that they

14. Act, May 7, Stat. at Large, Vol. II. p. 58.

should be consistent with the constitution and statutes of the United States. It was provided, moreover, that the laws in force in the said District of Louisiana, which were not inconsistent with the Act of Congress, should continue in force until altered, modified or repealed by the governor and judges of Indiana Territory. In other words, the Civil Law, which had obtained during the Spanish Period, continued as the common law of the District.

Acting under the provisions of the above Act of Congress, the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory, at a session held at Vincennes in Indiana, adopted on October 1, 1804, fifteen laws for the District of Louisiana. One additional law was enacted by them for such District, on April 24, 1805, making sixteen in all adopted during the period that this District was attached to Indiana Territory. These acts constitute the foundation upon which our present system of laws has been erected.

William Henry Harrison, later President of the United States, was at this time Governor of Indiana Territory, having been appointed at the time the Territory was organized. He was born and educated in Virginia. Before being appointed governor he had served as Secretary of the Northwest Territory and was its first delegate in Congress. At least one of the judges, Henry Vanderburgh, had also had experience with the government of the Northwest Territory, having been a member and president of its legislative council when that body was organized in 1799. (15) To their previous experience was added that gained during their four years' administration of Indiana Territory. They were thus rendered familiar with the needs of a sparsely settled, frontier community and when they came to legislate for the District of Louisiana, they did not attempt any doubtful experiments but proceeded to apply those acts, the value of which had been demonstrated to them by their experience.

15. Dillon, History of Indiana, p. 391.

Of the sixteen laws which they enacted, only one, a law regulating boatmen, does not appear in whole or in part in the statutes of Indiana or the Northwest Territory. Ten of these laws were taken from the acts of the Northwest Territory (which were also in force in Indiana Territory) and were practically identical with such acts except for a few features in several of the laws. Four of the laws were substantially the same as acts of Indiana Territory, three of which were modifications of the laws of the Northwest Territory. Finally, the law respecting slaves, which was taken from the Virginia statutes, contained features in common with the Indiana law concerning servants, which was taken from the same source. (16) Thus thirteen of the laws had their source in whole or in part in the statutes of the Northwest Territory, while two of the remaining three acts were influenced by the Acts of Indiana Territory.

Turning now to a consideration of the nature of the laws we find that they were restricted to those which were absolutely necessary for the government during the period of its temporary administration by the Indiana authorities. The enacting clause of each of the laws was as follows: "*Be it enacted by the Governor and Judges of Indiana territory, authorized and empowered by an act of Congress to make laws for the District of Louisiana and it is hereby enacted by the authority of same.*" The general subjects dealt with are indicated by the following titles of the sixteen acts: A law providing for the punishment of certain crimes; a law establishing courts for the trial of small causes; a law respecting slaves; a law regulating county rates and levies; an act establishing and regulating the militia; a law establishing recorders' offices; a law regulating the practice of attornies; a law regulating the appointment of constables; a law regulating boatmen; a law of defalcation; a law to regulate the practice of the general court upon writs of error and for other purposes; a law establishing a court of probate; a law establishing courts of judicature; a law regulating the oath of office; a law estab-

16. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 26.

lishing the office of sheriff; a law regulating marriages. It would not be profitable in this connection to consider the details of all these acts. We shall restrict our attention to a general description of the government which was instituted and of the more important provisions pertaining to the relations of private persons.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MILITIA.—Under the provisions of the Act of Congress the Governor of Indiana Territory was commander-in-chief of the militia and appointed all officers thereof except the commanding officers who were appointed by the President. All inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 45 were to be formed into a militia. The act passed by the governor and judges regulated the details of organization. (17) It is similar to the act of the Northwest Territory enacted December 13, 1799, (18) but differs from it and from the Act of Congress in imposing the obligation of militia service upon all inhabitants between the ages of 16 and 50, which were the same limits that had existed in the original act of the Northwest Territory. (19)

Service was not only compulsory but each militiaman was required to provide himself with the necessary arms and equipment. This was a species of taxation for the benefit of the central government of the District which did not raise any revenue by direct taxation until the Act of July 8, 1806. (20) The requirement did not constitute a hardship as the frontier life of the region necessitated the possession of such equipment by most of the adult male population. The section of the act is interesting as illustrating the character of military equipment a century ago. Each militiaman was required to provide himself "with a good musket, a sufficient bayonet and belt, or a fusee, two spare flints, a knapsack, and a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or fusee, each cartridge to contain

17. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 42.
18. Chase's Statutes, Vol. I. Ch., 105.
19. July 25, 1788, Ibid. Ch. I.
20. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 69.

a proper quantity of powder and ball; or a good rifle, knapsack, pouch and powder horn, with twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder."

COUNTY ORGANIZATION.—As the district did not possess a separate territorial government no provision was necessary respecting the central administration of civil affairs which was regulated by the Act of Congress indicated above. The Governor of Indiana, acting under the provisions of such act, divided the District of Louisiana into sub-districts which later came to be known as counties and, in order to avoid confusion with the District, these sub-districts will be referred to as counties. He recognized the five sub-divisions which had existed under Spanish rule, viz., St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. In each of these counties a system of local government was established. The law regulating county rates and levies (21) provided that the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace should be the general county authority. The composition of this body was determined by the law establishing courts of judicature. (22) The governor was to appoint a competent number of justices of the peace for each county. These justices or any number of them not less than three were authorized to hold quarterly in the county a court which was styled the general quarter sessions of the peace. The judicial functions of this body will be noticed later. As the general administrative authority for the county it was authorized to make contracts for the construction of jails, court houses, bridges, etc.; to audit and allow all claims against the county; to draw up the county budget and to levy the taxes necessary to defray the estimated expenditures.

This Justice of the Peace system of county administration was substantially the same as the form of county government which had prevailed in England at the time of the colonization of America and which was introduced into the Southern and Middle Colonies. In Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth century, it was modified by the introduction of elective commissioners who attended

21. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 34.
22. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 50.

to the financial administration. The Pennsylvania system of commissioners, without the elective principle, was established in the Northwest Territory in 1795 and continued in an act of 1799. (23) This system continued in effect in Indiana Territory until 1803 when it was abolished by an act of November 5th, and the Virginia justice of the peace system was established in its place. (24) This was the law which was copied in the Acts of the District of Louisiana. In 1806, however, the justice of the peace system was changed by an Act of July 8 (25) which introduced the commissioner system in the Territory of Louisiana, substantially as it had been established in the Northwest Territory by the acts of 1795 and 1799, except that the commissioners were appointed by the governor instead of by the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The elective principle did not appear in county administration in Missouri during the territorial period. The significance of the commissioner system is to be found in the fact that, while it was soon afterwards temporarily abandoned and tentative experiments were made with various other systems, it formed the model upon which the present county court or commissioner system was established.

The other local officials provided by the earliest acts were the sheriff, coroner, assessor, recorder and constable. In addition to the functions which he possesses today, the sheriff was an important official of financial administration, being ex-officio collector and treasurer and also assessor as regards objects subject to specific taxes. While some of these powers were taken from him by later acts they were soon restored and, at the close of the territorial period, the sheriff was ex-officio collector, treasurer and assessor for all kinds of property.

All officials were required to take an oath of office or make an affirmation, the form of which was prescribed by one of the laws. (26) Justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, etc., were

23. Chase, Statutes, Vol. I. Chs., 53, 111.
24. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 63.
25. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 69.
26. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 64.

required to perform the duties of their respective offices under penalty of $100 fine. Today, when the competition for public office is so keen, compulsory official service is rarely enforced. One hundred years ago, however, when public revenues and official salaries were very small this method of securing public services was frequently resorted to.

TAXATION.—Such revenue as existed at this time was purely local in character. The law regulating county rates and levies (27) was practically identical with the Indiana law of November 5, 1803. (28) This provided for direct taxes on property but did not introduce a general property tax. Specific rates were imposed upon personal property while real estate was subject to an ad valorem rate. Agricultural lands were exempt but all houses and town lots were subject to a tax of not more than thirty cents on each $100 of appraised value. The objects and rates of the tax on personal property were as follows:

Horses, mules, etc.....not exceeding fifty cents each;
Neat cattle.....not exceeding ten cents each;
Stud horses.....not exceeding rate for season;
Bond servants and slaves.....not exceeding one dollar each.

In addition, all single men above the age of twenty-one years, who did not possess taxable property of the value of $400, were to be subject to a poll tax of not less than fifty cents and not more than two dollars, and, in default of payment thereof, could be committed to jail until payment was made. The penalty was not large enough to serve as an inducement to marriage even if any such inducement had been necessary at that time. It was doubtless intended as a general poll tax on all men who did not possess taxable property with an exemption in favor of married men falling under this class who were justly regarded as entitled to an exemption from taxation. The act also imposed a license tax upon ferries.

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION.—In addition to the su-

27. Ibid. p. 34.
28. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 63.

preme court of the District, which was composed of the Judges of Indiana Territory, there were the following inferior courts in each county: court of general quarter sessions of the peace, court of common pleas, court of probate and courts of single justices of the peace. (29) The composition of the court of quarter sessions has been described above. It had jurisdiction in criminal cases except those which were capital. The court of common pleas had practically the same organization as the court of quarter sessions and had jurisdiction in civil cases of less than $100 in value. The probate court consisted of one judge and possessed the ordinary jurisdiction of such courts. Single justices of the peace had jurisdiction in petty civil cases.

The tendency in the territorial period was towards the consolidation of courts and in 1813 all of the above courts of the county except that of the single justice were consolidated in a single court of common pleas. (30) Finally in 1815, (31) the counties of the territory were divided into two circuits for each of which a circuit judge, learned in the law, was appointed, to whom was given jurisdiction over the judicial matters arising in the counties in his circuit, and, in 1816, (32) this was extended so as to include the administrative affairs of such counties. This marks the greatest centralization ever attained in Missouri.

ATTORNIES.—Though no attornies seem to have practiced in the territory during the Spanish period they must have appeared with the introduction of American government as one of the earliest laws regulated their practice. (33) An examination before two judges of the supreme court was required of all applicants for licenses who must also present certificates of good moral character. An act of the Northwest Territory had required applicants to present certificates showing that they had studied law for four

29. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. pp. 20-27, 57-64.
30. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 272.
31. Ibid. p. 345.
32. Ibid. p. 444.
33. Ibid. p. 49.

years. (34) This requirement was abrogated for Indiana Territory by a resolution of the governor and judges of January 20, 1801. (35) The act also provides that not more than two attornies shall argue on any one side, except in criminal cases, unless good cause be shown for exception.

Lawyers' fees were also restricted to figures which appear far from liberal. The act undertook to specify the fees that might be charged for different legal services and prescribed penalties for overcharges. The respective amounts were left blank but an act of July 7, 1807, (36) fixing the fees of officials, provided fees for lawyers, ranging from $3 to $7 according to the nature of the legal proceeding. Moreover, the right to the fee depended upon the success of the lawyer's efforts, as only the attorney of the party obtaining the judgment was entitled to his fee which was to be taxed with the bill of costs.

CRIMINAL CODE.—Aggravated crimes had been very rare under Spanish rule. Thomas Ashe, who traveled through this region in 1806, testifies to the fact that the coming of the Americans had produced a great change, introducing the lawlessness characteristic of our frontier settlements. (37) Hence, legislation respecting crimes was necessary. The act adopted (38) was in most respects identical with the original criminal statute of the Northwest Territory. (39) In one notable respect it marked an advance over the latter. The pillory and whipping post, which were utilized as means of punishment for certain crimes in the Northwest Territory, were not treated as agencies for the reformation of criminals in the District of Louisiana except that the pillory was provided in cases of perjury and forgery and the whipping post was prescribed for the punishment of certain violations of the act respecting slaves. On the other hand, a retrogression appears in a more common provision for the death penalty than existed in what

34. Chase, Stat., Vol. I. Ch. 87.
35. Ind. Laws, 1st Sess., pp. 6, 7.
36. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 163.
37. Ashe, Travels in America. pp. 290, 291.
38. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 15.
39. Chase, Stat. Vol. I. pp. 97-101.

has been characterized as the "barbarous criminal code" of the Northwest Territory. (40) Thus arson and certain degrees of burglary and robbery were treated as capital crimes. The act respecting slaves established particular crimes with severe punishments for certain acts of slaves and of other persons having relations with them.

SLAVERY LEGISLATION.—Slavery existed in the Spanish province and, as the treaty with France provided that the inhabitants should be protected in the free enjoyment of their property, it was incumbent upon the American officials to legislate for this institution. There is no doubt, however, that, independent of this stipulation such legislation would have been enacted. Many of the Americans resident in the district had crossed the Mississippi because of the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest and Indiana Territories. Moreover, some of the inhabitants of the latter territory possessed slaves and indentured servants and a large number of them favored the abolition of the prohibitory clause. A convention, consisting of delegates elected by the people of the several counties of Indiana Territory, which met in 1802, adopted a memorial to Congress petitioning for the suspension of such clause. (41) While Congress refused its consent to such suspension, the governor and judges in their legislation practically recognized the institution. Thus, for example, slaves were taxed, as such, under the revenue law referred to above, and an act of September 22, 1803, entitled a law respecting servants, (42) was in fact a law for the regulation of slavery. One section of that act (43) was practically identical with section 11 of the act respecting slaves, which the governor and judges adopted for the District of Louisiana. (44)

The Indiana act had been taken from the statutes of Virginia and it was from the same source that the act for the Dis-

40. Howard, Local Const. Hist. p. 416.
41. Dillon, Hist. of Indiana, p. 410, 411.
42. Indiana Laws, 4th Sess., p. 26.
43. Section 10.
44. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. pp. 27-33.

trict of Louisiana was for the most part derived. (45) While the latter act did not incorporate all of the harsh and cruel features which had characterized the Virginia slave code, it contained strict regulations governing the acts of slaves and imposed severe punishments for violations of its provisions. As in the case of Virginia, this was due primarily to a fear of conspiracies and insurrections among the negroes and the actual treatment of the slaves was much milder and more humane than the laws would indicate.

MARRIAGES.—In April, 1805, the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory passed one additional act for the district, the necessity for which had evidently been overlooked in the preceding year. This was the law regulating marriages (46) which was practically the same as one of the early laws of the Northwest Territory. (47) This act authorized judicial officials as well as clergymen to join persons in marriage and required all who so officiated to file a certificate of the marriage with the recorder. Apparently certain marriage ceremonies had been performed by judicial officials before the passage of this act. Inasmuch as the Spanish law, which continued in force, until modified or repealed, did not recognize civil marriages, the act contained a provision validating all such marriages which had been performed between October 1, 1804, and the date of the passage of the act.

BOATMAN.—Most of the settlements in the District were on the banks or in the vicinity of navigable streams. The regulation of river traffic was, accordingly, a matter of importance and one of the laws of October 1, 1804, was for the regulation of boatmen. It provided means for compelling boatmen to render proper service and for restraining the master of the boat from cruel usage, etc.

OTHER LAWS IN FORCE.—In accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress, all laws which were in force in

45. Hening's Statutes of Virginia, Vol. VI. pp. 106-112, 356-369; Vol. XII. pp. 145, 182, 183.
46. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 65.
47. Chase, Stat. Vol. I. Ch. 7.

the District at the commencement of the Act and which were not inconsistent with its provisions, continued in force until altered, modified or repealed by the legislative authority. Similar provisions were included in the subsequent acts of Congress affecting this territory. Hence the Civil Law continued in force to the extent that it was not modified by positive acts. This continued the rule until an act of the Territory of Missouri of January 19, 1816, (48) which was modeled upon a Virginia statute, provided that the common law of England and all British statutes made prior to the 4th year of the reign of James I, which were of a general nature and not contrary to the constitution and laws of the United States or of the Territory of Missouri, should be the rule of decision until altered by the legislature, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. (Excepted from the above rule were the British statutes respecting crimes, etc., and the doctrines of entail and survivorship in joint tenancies.) This substituted the English Common Law for the Civil Law as the basis of our jurisprudence.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.—The inhabitants of the District of Louisiana were not satisfied with the character of the temporary government provided by the Act of Congress of March 26, 1804. They were quick to seize upon American political methods. On September 29, 1804, two days before the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory enacted the above laws, a remonstrance was drawn up and forwarded to Congress by deputies from the several counties of the District. (49) So far as regards political matters they complained chiefly of the fact that they were governed by a governor and judges who did not reside in the District. They also petitioned for authority to elect representatives from each county to form, with the governor, the legislative council of the territory.

While Congress did not grant all of their requests the

48. Ter. Laws, Vol. I. p. 436.
49. Amer. State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. I. pp. 400-405.

LINCOLN, HANKS AND BOONE FAMILIES.

Some Genealogical Notes Illustrating Their Connection. (1)

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1. In the year 1620 a Mrs. Lincoln, in Hingham, County Norfolk, England, folded to her bosom a babe which she named Samuel. We have no positive information as to the given names of either the father or the mother. We do know that when the boy was 14 years of age he was apprenticed to Francis Lawes, in Norwich, England, to learn the art of weaving, at that time a thriving industry of that city, the chief seat of Puritanism.

On April 8, 1637, Francis Lawes, Lidda, his wife, with one child, Mary, and two servants, Samuel Lincorne, aged 18 years, and Anne Smith, aged 19 years, were examined for emigration to New England, and came over either in the ship John and Dorothy of Ipswich, commanded by William Andrews, or in the Rose of Yarmouth, commanded by William Andrews, Junior, both of which vessels sailed in company, and landed their passengers at Salem, Massachusetts. Lawes remained in Salem, dying there in 1666. His daughter, Mary, married, 1st, John Neale, 2d, Andrew Mansfield. Soon after landing, Samuel Lincoln moved to Hingham, Massachusetts, where he became a proprietor in 1649. It is thought that Thomas Lin coln, who settled at Hingham in 1633, was a brother of Samuel.

Samuel (1) Lincoln married about 1649, Martha ———, by whom he had 11 children. He was known both as "weaver" and as "mariner" on the records of Hingham. He died there May 26, 1690, aged 71 years, and his wife, Martha, died April 10, 1693. Their children were:

i. Samuel, (2) b. Aug. 25, 1650, m. Apr. 29, 1687, Deborah Hersey. He d. March, 1720-1.

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1. A paper read at the fourth annual meeting of the Society, December 9, 1904, by the President of the Society.

ii. Daniel, b. Jan. 2, 1652-3, m. Jan. 23, 1677-8, Elizabeth Lincoln. He d. Apr. 29, 1732.

iii. Mordecai, b. June 19, d. July 9, 1655.

2. iv. Mordecai, b. June 14, 1657.

v Thomas, b. Sept. 8, 1659, d. Nov. 13, 1661.

vi. Mary, b. March 27, 1662, m. Jan. 3, 1683-4, Joseph Bate.

vii. Thomas, b. Aug. 20, 1664, m. Aug. 3, 1689, Mehitable Frost. He d. Apr. 2, 1715.

viii. Martha, b. Feb. 11, 1666-7, d. unmarried, Feb. 12, 1740-1, aged 74 years.

ix. Sarah, b. Aug 13, d. Aug. 30, 1669.

x. Sarah, b. June 17, 1671, d. unmarried Nov. 28, 1743, aged 72 years.

xi. Rebecca, b. Mar. 11, 1673-4, m. 1st, May 14, 1695, John Clark, of Plymouth; 2d, June 24, 1725, Israel Nichols, widower.

2. Mordecai (2) Lincoln, born in Hingham, Massachusetts, June 14, 1657, was a blacksmith, and worked at his trade in Hull, where he married about 1685, Sarah, daughter of Abraham and Sarah (Whitman) Jones. From Hull the family moved into the neighboring town of Scituate about 1704, where Mordecai engaged in establishing a furnace for the smelting of iron ore. He became also the owner of saw and grist mills, and appears to have been a thriving, go-ahead man. His wife, Sarah, died about 1708, leaving 5 children, the first four born in Hull, and the fifth born in Scituate. Mordecai married, 2d, about 1710, widow, Mary Gannett, by whom he had one son. He died of apoplexy Nov. 8, 1727. His will, dated May 3, 1727, was proven March 27, 1728. His inventory amounted to £3099, 14s, 8d. His children were:

3. i. Mordecai, (3) b. April 24, 1686.

4. ii. Abraham, b. Jan. 13, 1688-9.

iii. Isaac, b. Oct. 24, 1691, m. 1st, Jan. 25, 1716-17, Sarah Cummings; 2d, Mrs.Jael Wade. He died Jan. 15, 1771.

iv. Sarah, b. July 29, 1694, m. Feb. 25, 1715-6, Daniel Tower, and d. July 7, 1754.

v. Elizabeth, m. Ambrose Cole, of Scituate, d. Sept. 14, 1724.

vi. Jacob, b. 1711.

3. Mordecai (3) Lincoln, born April 24, 1686, when grown moved with his brother, Abraham, to Monmouth county, New Jersey. There he married Hannah, daughter of Richard and Sarah (Bowne) Salter, of Freehold, Monmouth county, previous to September 14, 1714, the date of her uncle, Capt. John Bowne's will, in which Hannah Lincoln has a bequest of £250. Capt. Bowne was a very wealthy and influential man. Richard Salter was a leading lawyer of the province, county judge, and member of the Provincial Assembly. By deed dated Feb. 29, 1720, Richard Salter conveyed 400 acres of land situate on the Machaponix river to Mordecai Lincoln, and in another deed dated May 26, 1726, Salter conveyed 100 acres at the same place to Mordecai Lincoln, this deed mentioning the grantee as then of Chester county, Pa. A deed from Mordecai Lincoln, dated December 14, 1725, names him as of Coventry, Chester county, and indicates that he was then engaged in the manufacture of iron. Hannah Lincoln died before December, 1725, having borne to Mordecai Lincoln 6 children.

i. Hannah, (4).

ii. Mary (4).

5. iii. John (4).

iv. Deborah, b. Jan. 1717, d. May 15, 1720.

v. Sarah.

vi. Ann, b. Mar. 1725, m. Oct. 2, 1744, William Tallman, b. in Rhode Island Mar. 25, 1720, settled near her brother, John, in Virginia. They had 11 children, only one reaching maturity, Benjamin, b. in Pennsylvania, Jan. 9, 1745-6; m. Nov. 9, 1764, Susannah, daughter of Benjamin and Susannah Boone, b. May 10, 1746. She d. July 28, 1824. He d. June 4, 1820.

After his removal to Pennsylvania, Mordecai Lincoln married, 2d, Mary ———, who survived him. His will, dated Feb. 22, 1735-6, in Amity, Pa., gives the New Jersey land to his

children by Hannah, and the Amity land to his children by Mary, and makes Mary executrix, with "Loving friends and neighbors, Jonathan Robeson and George Boone, trustees." The children of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln were:

6. vii. Mordecai.
7. viii. Thomas.
8. ix. Abraham.

4. Abraham (3) Lincoln, born Jan. 13, 1689, probably went with his brother, Mordecai, to New Jersey. He was a blacksmith by trade, as related in a deed given by him Feb. 20, 1737, conveying 240 acres of land that he had bought Feb. 11, 1722, also 200 acres that he had bought March 15, 1725. This sale was preparatory to following his brother from New Jersey to Pennsylvania. His will was dated Springfield, Chester County, Pa., April 15, 1745, and was entered for probate the 29th of the same month. The estate consisted of a plantation at Springfield, and two houses in Philadelphia, which was divided among his children. No wife was mentioned, hence she had probably died, and we have, as yet, no trace of her name. The children, in the order given in the will,

i. Mordecai (4).
ii. Abraham.
iii. Isaac.
iv. Jacob.
v. John.
vi. Sarah.
vii. Rebecca, m. Sept. 19, 1750, Joseph Rush.

5. John (4) Lincoln, born about 1712, in East Jersey, went with his father, Mordecai, in 1725, to Pennsylvania. He was left by his father's will 300 acres of land in Middlesex county, N. J., being part of the tract conveyed Oct. 9, 1720, by Richard Salter to Mordecai (3) Lincoln. This land John conveyed by deed November 8, 1748, naming himself then of Caernavon, Lancaster county, Pa. In 1750 he sold a farm in Union township, adjoining Exeter, and moved to Virginia, settling in Augusta county, in the part that was organized as Rockingham county in 1779. His will can not be found, as many of the papers in the probate court at Harrisonburg have

been destroyed by fire. But there is proof of his having had 5 sons, perhaps more, besides daughters. The maiden name of his wife is not certainly known, but family tradition asserts that it was Moore. The names of the children positively known were:

i. John (5)
ii. Thomas (5).
9. iii. Abraham (5).
iv. Isaac (5).
v. Jacob (5) had David (6), who was father of Abraham (7), b. 1820, living 1903 at Lacy Springs, Rockingham county, Va.

6. Mordecai (4) Lincoln, b. about 1730, inherited one-third of his father's Amity, Pa., plantation. He was taxed in Berks county in 1752, and kept store. He was connected with the commissary or quartermaster department during the Revolution. His wife's name is unknown. After the Revolutionary war Mordecai (6) moved to Fayette county, Pa., where his descendants live to this day. There he died in 1812, aged 82 years, and he was buried at Uniontown. His children were:

i. Benjamin (5), b. Nov. 29, 1756, settled in Fayette county, Pa.
ii. John (5), b. March 28, 1758, when a young man went to visit his uncle, John, in Va., and there had his nose bitten off in a fight, and his father was obliged to go for him. He was taken home to Fayette county, and placed under the guardianship of his brother, Benjamin, on the homestead farm.
iii. Ann, b. Nov. 22, 1759, m. William Jones.
iv. Hannah, b. Dec. 31, 1761.
v. Sarah, b, Feb. 25, 1767.

7. Thomas (4) Lincoln, b. 1733, was the second sheriff of Berks county. He had two sons.

i. Hananiah (5), served during the Revolution, subsequently joined Boone's infant settlement in Kentucky, and afterwards moved to Missouri.

ii. Michael, served in the Revolution, and immediately after the war closed settled in Union county, Pa., where his descendants live to this day.

8. Abraham (4) Lincoln, the posthumous son of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln, of Amity, Pa., b. 1736, m. Ann Boone, a first cousin of Daniel Boone. It is said that Daniel Boone used to go back from North Carolina often to visit his friends in Pennsylvania, and his glowing accounts of the south and west probably induced John (4) Lincoln to remove to Virginia. After his removal there he was called Virginia John to distinguish him from others bearing the same name. Abraham was a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania from Berks county in 1782, a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, also a member of the Convention which framed the Pennsylvania Consitution of 1790. His descendants live in Berks, Chester, Lancaster and other adjoining counties. The children of Abraham and Ann Lincoln were:

i. Mordecai.
ii. James, b. 1766, d. Birdsboro, Pa., 1860, aged 94.
iii. Thomas, d. 1864.
iv. John.

9. Captain Abraham (5) Lincoln was born near Harrisonburg, Virginia, in 1751, and lived near Lynnville Creek, Rockingham county. He was a captain of militia in 1776, during that year presiding at a court martial at Staunton. The record is preserved in the Hustings court, and his name is signed as Abraham Linkhorn, of Staunton. There he married about 1772, Mary Shipley, and there his children were born. In 1782 the family emigrated to Kentucky, settling at Beargrass Fort, near the present city of Louisville. In the original Field Book of Daniel Boone, in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is the following entry: "Abraham Lincoln enters 500 acres of land on a Treasury Warrant on the south side of Licking Creek or river, in Kentucky." In 1784, while at work with his boys clearing the forest, Captain Lincoln was killed by a lurking Indian, who seized Thomas, 6 years old, as his captive. Mordecai, the oldest boy, only 11 at the

time, shot the Indian through the heart. The children of Capt. Abraham and Mary (Shipley) Lincoln were:

i. Mordecai (6), b. 1773, late in life moved to Hancock, county, Ill.

ii. Josiah (6), b. 1776, settled in Harrison county, Ind.

10. iii. Thomas (6), b. 1778.

iv. Mary, 6. 1780, m. Ralph Crume.

v. Nancy, b. 1783, m. William Brumfield.

10. Thomas (6) Lincoln was born in Augusta, afterwards Rockingham county, Va., in 1778. He went to Kentucky with his father, and as the latter was killed while Thomas was small, he grew up in poverty and privation. The law of entail being then in force, the little property left by Capt. Abraham Lincoln fell to Mordecai, the oldest son, and the others were forced to struggle. Thomas grew up in ignorance, there being then no schools for the poor, and when old enough he was put to work at the carpenter trade with Joseph Hanks, of Elizabethtown, Ky. On June 12. 1806, he married Nancy Hanks, born 1783, a sister of Joseph Hanks, both of them being Thomas Lincoln's first cousins. She was superior in attainments and intellectual power, to her husband, and her memory was ever revered by her eminent son. In November 1817 the family removed to Spencer county, Indiana, where Nancy Hanks Lincoln died October 5, 1818. In 1819 Thomas Lincoln married 2d. Widow Sarah Bush Johnston, of Elizabethtown, Ky. In the spring of 1830 the family moved to Macon county, Ill., making several changes thereafter, finally settling in Coles county, where Thomas Lincoln died in 1851, aged 73 years. The children of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln were:

i. Sarah (7), b. 1807, m. 1826, Aaron Grigsby, d. 1828.

ii. Abraham (7), b. Feb. 12, 1809.

iii. Thomas, d. in infancy.

11. Abraham (7)Lincoln, born in Hardin county, Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1809, moved to Indiana with his parents in 1817, thence to Illinois. He married at Springfield, Illinois, Nov. 4, 1842, Mary Todd, b. 1818, at Lexington, Ky. His eminent life is too well known by all to need repetition here. He died

by the assassin's bullet April 15, 1865, and Mary Todd Lincoln d. July 16, 1882. Children:

i. Robert Todd, b. Aug. 1, 1843.
ii. Edward Baker, b. March 10, 1846, d. young.
iii. William Wallace, b. Dec. 21, 1850, d. Washington, Feb. 20, 1862.
iv. Thomas, b. April 4, 1853, d. Chicago, July 15, 1871.

HANKS.

In the year 1700 a family composed of Uriah Hanks and his wife, Lurana, with two sons, Benjamin and John, left their native place, Birmingham, England, and emigrated to America, landing at Plymouth, Mass. Benjamin finally settled in Conn., while John made his way to Pennsylvania. After some years John Hanks, as the name stands upon the record, citizen of Whitemarsh, stands up before the meeting in the Quaker meeting house in Gwynedd, near Philadelphia, and promises to be a true and loving husband to Sarah Evans. With his young wife he moved up the Schuylkill river to Berks county, settling in Union township, neighbor to Mordecai and John Lincoln, and to George and Squire Boone, father and grandfather of Daniel Boone.

About 1758 the families of John Lincoln and John Hanks moved to Virginia, and were neighbors in Rockingham county. The records of Harrisonburg are very defective, but it is certain that Joseph Hanks, a son of John, married Nancy Shipley, an elder sister of Mary Shipley who married Captain Abraham Lincoln. Joseph Hanks moved from Amelia county, Va., with his family, about 1789, and settled in Nelson county, Ky. There he died in 1793, as his will dated Jan. 9, of that year, was probated May, 14, 1793. By this will he made his wife, Nancy, executrix, and named 8 children as follows:

i. Thomas.
ii. Joshua.
iii. William, married Elizabeth Hall.
iv. Charles.
v. Joseph, m. Polly Young.

vi. Elizabeth, m. Levi Hall.
vii. Polly, m. Jesse Friend.
viii. Nancy, b. 1783, m. Thomas Lincoln.

Joseph Hanks, second, set up a carpenter shop in Elizabethtown, Ky., in which Thomas Lincoln, his first cousin, with scarcely any education, struggled for a livelihood. Two lines of Puritan pioneer descent had now met, one from Norwich, the other from Birmingham, and the marriage on June 12, 1806, of Thomas Lincoln to his cousin, Nancy Hanks, had united them. Nancy, who was born in 1783, had some education, and her intellect seems to have been stronger than that of her husband, although he was by no means the shiftless ne'er do well that he has been represented. She d. Oct. 5, 1818, on Pigeon creek, Spencer county, Indiana, Abraham Lincoln said "All that I am, I owe to my mother."

SHIPLEY.

Robert Shipley bought 314 acres of land on September 16, 1765, in Lunenburg county, Virginia. His wife's name was Sarah Rachael. Their children were:

i. Mary, who married about 1772, Capt. Abraham Lincoln.
ii. Lucy, married Richard Berry and moved about 1789 to Kentucky. She brought up her niece, Nancy Hanks, who was left an orphan young and at her house in Washington county, Ky., June 12, 1806, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, first cousins, were married.
iii. Sarah, m. Robert Mitchell, settled in Ky.
iv. Elizabeth, m. Thomas Sparrow, settled in Kentucky.
v. Nancy, m. Joseph Hanks and died in Kentucky not very long after her husband's death in 1793.

BOONE.

1. The first of this family in America was Geo. Boone, who was born about 1670 at the old family home of Bradwinch, about 8 miles from Exeter, England. There he married Mary ———, by whom he had nine sons and two daughters. The

entire family emigrated to America, landing at Philadelphia, October 10, 1717. George Boone purchased a tract of land in what is now Bucks county, Pa., and called it Exeter from the town in England whence he had emigrated. Of his eleven children I have only been able thus far to trace three sons by name, John (2), James (2), and Squire (2).

2. Squire (2) Boone was married July 23, 1720, in Essex township, Pa., to Sarah Morgan, and they had 11 children—7 boys and 4 girls. In 1752 the family moved to North Carolina, settling on the banks of the Yadkin river, eight miles from where the town of Wilkesborough now stands. The children were:

i James, killed by Indians in 1773.
ii. Samuel.
iii. Jonathan.
iv. Squire.
v. George.
3. vi. Daniel.
vii. Edward.
viii. Sarah.
ix. Elizabeth.
x. Mary.
xi. Hannah.

3. Daniel (3) Boone was born October 22, 1734, in Exeter township, Pa. He was of a restless pioneer spirit, and early began his adventurous travels, although he had a good education for the times, and was a skilled land surveyor. He removed with his father's family to North Carolina in 1752, and there was married to Rebecca Bryant, August 14, 1756. He d. in St. Charles county, Missouri, September 26, 1820. They had 9 children—5 boys and 4 girls—as follows:

i. James (4), born May 30, 1757, unmarried, killed by Indians, Oct. 26, 1774.
ii. Israel, b. Jan. 25, 1759, unmarried, killed by Indians, August 19, 1782.
iii. Susannah, b. November 2, 1760.
iv. Jemima, b. October 4, 1762, m. in Kentucky about 1782. Flanders Callaway, b. in North Carolina,

June 9, 1753, and had four sons. Their eldest son was Captain James Callaway, b. Fayette County, Ky., September 13, 1783, m. about 1805, Nancy Howell, killed by Indians. A bold and intrepid pioneer for whom Callaway county, Mo., was named. Other children were John, Larkin and Boone.

v. Lavina, b. March 23, 1766.

vi. Rebecca, b. May 26, 1768, m. W. Hays. A daughter, Elizabeth, m. James Van Bibber in Callaway county, about 1816. He with Nathan Boone surveyed Callaway county.

4. vii. Daniel Morgan, b. Dec. 23, 1769, emigrated to St. Louis county, Mo., in 1788, where he married about 1805, Sarah Griffin Lewis, whose father removed from the vicinity of Mt. Vernon, Va., where she was born Jan. 29, 1786. He died July 13, 1837, in Jackson county, Mo., and she died there June 19, 1850.

5. viii. Jesse B., b. May 23, 1773, d. 1820.

6. ix. Nathan.

4. Daniel Morgan (4) and Sarah Griffin (Lewis) Boone had children as follows:

i. John W. (5), b. Dec. 19, 1806, d. unmarried in 1822.

ii. Nathan, b. Feb. 17, 1808, d. unmarried in 1836.

7. iii. Daniel, b. March 27, 1809.

iv. Lindsley, b. Oct. 22, 1811, m. Sarah Grooms, d. 1834.

v. Edward H. b. July 1813, died unmarried in 1860.

vi. Elizabeth L. b. April 22, 1815, m. Jesse White, d. 1850.

vii. Alonzo H. b. March 22, 1817, m. Elizabeth Stewart, d. 1873.

viii. James, b. 1819, m. Lorinda Carbo, b. 1852.

ix. Milton S. b. March 11, d. Aug. 1820.

x. Cassandra, Nov. 3, 1821, m. a Casby, d. May 20, 1845.

xi. Morgan, b. Aug. 3, 1824, m. 1st, Disa Stewart, 2d, Mary Ann Randolph, d. 1852.

xii. Napoleon, b. Aug 22, 1828, died unmarried May 20, 1850.

5. Jesse B. (4) Boone was born in Kentucky May 23, 1773. He moved to Kanawha county, Virginia, with his parents, and was the first salt inspector of that county. He m. there, Chloe Van Bibber, daughter of Mathias Van Bibber, who was companion and chainman for Daniel Boone in all his Kanawha surveying. Van Bibber went to Missouri in 1799 with Daniel Boone, but afterwards returned to Virginia. The James Van Bibber, who settled in Callaway county, Mo., and married in 1816, Elizabeth Hays, a granddaughter of Daniel Boone, was his son. Jesse Boone did not move to Missouri until 1818, ad died there in 1820. His children were:

i. Albert Gallatin, b. Kanawha county, Va., 1803.
ii. Minerva, m. Lilburn W. Boggs, afterwards governor of Missouri.
iii. Panthea, m. a Warner.

6. Col. Nathan (4) Boone, was born in Kentucky about 1777. He married in Kanawha county, Virginia, a Miss Van Bibber, cousin to the wife of his brother, Jesse B. Nathan settled in St. Charles county, Mo., and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. His father, Daniel Boone, died at his home on the Femme Osage river.

7. Daniel (7) Boone was born in St. Charles county, Mo., on March 27, 1809. He married in January, 1832, Mary Constance Philibert, who was born in Quebec, Canada, in 1813. Her parents moved to St. Louis soon after her birth, and soon died there, and she was adopted by a Chouteau family and taken to Westport Landing, now Kansas City. Here she met Daniel Boone, and became his wife. They settled south of Kansas City on a farm, and the husband died there in 1880. Mrs. Boone died in Kansas City this last summer, survived by 9 children, 52 grand children, 28 great grandchildren and 2 great great grand children. Daniel and Constance Boone had 12 children as follows:

i. Elizabeth L. (6) b. Feb. 22, 1833, m. J. S. Stewart.
ii. Delila (6), 6. Feb. 7, 1834, m. Samuel Stewart.
iii. Mary J., (6) b.July 27, 1838, m. Leonard Fuqua, liv-

ing now at Waldo Park.

iv. Alonzo H. (6), b. May 9, 1840, d. unmarried, Sept. 24, 1859.

v. Napoleon (6), b. Oct. 1, 1842, m. Jane Douglass, living 1904, at Waldo.

vi. Theodore, b. Oct. 11, 1844, m. Martha May, living 1904, at Caldwell, Idaho.

vii. Daniel, b. Oct. 25, 1846, m. Martha Webb, living 1904 at Dallas, Mo.

viii. Cassandra, b. March 14, 1849, m. Geo. Douglass, living 1904 in Randolph Co., Mo.

ix. Nathan, b. Feb. 29, 1852, living 1904 in Warrensburg, Mo.

x. Sarah M., b. Feb. 3, 1854, m. W. F. Gordon, living 1904, 4210 Washington St., Kansas City, Mo.

xi. John, b. Oct. 1856, living 1904 Waldo, Mo.

xii. James, b. June 17, 1862, living 1904, Warrensburg, Mo.

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Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary State Historical Society.

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Special message to the Forty-third general assembly on Supreme Court building and convict labor, by Gov. Alexander M. Dockery, Jan. 9, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 3 p. O. pap.

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Inaugural address of Governor Joseph W. Folk to the Forty-third general asembly of the State of Misouri, January 9, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 16 p. O. pap.

Special mesage of Governor Joseph W. Folk to the Forty-third general asembly of Misouri, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. (Breeders' law, Portland Exposition and Soldiers' Memorial and Historical Building.) 7 p. O. pap.

Message—(Special message of Gov. Joseph W. Folk, March 9, 1905. Anti-bribery bill.) 5 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Appendix to House and Senate Journals of the Forty-third general asembly of the State of Missouri, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. O. 1-2 sh.

Contents: Message of Gov. Dockery, 15 p.; Special Message of Gov. Dockery on Convict labor, 5 p.; Inaugural address of Gov. Folk, 16 p.; Special message of Gov Folk, 7 p.; Report of Auditing Committee, 34 p.; Report of Visiting Committee, 164 p.; Biennial report of State Geologist, 56 p.; Fourth Biennial report of Federal Soldiers' Home, 32 p.; 4th Biennial report of Confederate Home, 36 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Kirksville, 52 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Warrensburg, 46 p.; Biennial report of State Normal School, Cape Girardeau, 42 p.; Eighth Biennial report State Industrial Home for girls, 39, p.; Eighth Biennial report of Missouri Training School for Boys, 30 p; Twenty-sixth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 1, 49 p.; Fifteenth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 2, 43 p.; Ninth Biennial report of State Hospital No. 3, 52 p.; Second Biennial report of State Hospital No. 4, 52 p.; Twenty-fourth Biennial report of Missouri School for the Blind, 22 p.; Biennial report of the State Factory Inspector, 60 p.; Biennial report of the State Penintentiary 266 p.; Twenty-fiifth Biennial report of the Missouri School for the deaf, 33 p.; Report of receipts and expenditures of Lincoln Institute, 15 p.; Biennial report of State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, 29 p.; Fourth Biennial report of State Board of Charities and Corrections, 118 p.; Third Biennial report of Missouri Colony for Feeble-Minded and Epileptic, 46 p.; Biennial report Board of Health, 25 p.; Report of Board of Visitors of the University of Missouri, 15 p.; Biennial report of Corporations, 5 p.; Report of the Conference of Judges, 5 p.; Report of Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, p.; 292 p.; Report of State Treasurer, 57 p.; Report of the State Auditor, 48 p.; Biennial report of the Fish Commission, 11 p.; Report of the State Librarian, 32 p.

Report of the Senate Committee on rules of the Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 40 p. 3 7-8x7 in. pap.

Contained also in Senate Journal.

Report of the House Committee on rules of the Forty-third general assembly, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 41 p. 3 7-8x7 in. pap.

The last above with names of committees, members and employees. 64 p. 3 7-8 in. mor.

Report of the Auditing Committee to settle with the State Auditor and Treasurer, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 34 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Report of the Committee to visit State Institutions of Missouri, located elsewhere than at the seat of government, to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 164 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Partial report of the Senate Committee appointed to investigate charges preferred against Thomas K. Neidringhaus, January 16, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 7 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Senate Journal.

Majority and Minority reports of the House Committee appointed to investigate charges preferred against Thomas K. Neidringhaus, January 17, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 87 p. O. pap.

Senate Standing Committees Forty-third general assembly. n. t. p. 3p.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Biennial report of the State Geologist to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 56 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

The Geology of Moniteau county by F. B. Van Horn, with an introduction by E. R. Buckley. Vol III, 2nd series. Jefferson City. The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 104 p. maps, folders, illus, cl. and pap.

HEALTH, BOARD OF.

Biennial report of the Missouri State Board of Health to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 25 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins of the Missouri State Board of Health. Vol. III, Kansas City, 1905.

Nos .1-10. (Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5 not seen.)

Nos. 7, 8, 9 were issued in one. No. 11 was Feb., 1906, and after a part were printed the number was changed Vol. IV, No. 1.

INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR GIRLS.

Eighth biennial report of board of managers of the State Industrial Home for Girls, Chillicothe, Mo., for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 39 p. illus. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 1.

Twenty-sixth biennial report of State Hospital, No. 1, Fulton, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 49 p. O. pap.

Contained also in the Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 2.

Fifteenth biennial report of State Hospital No. 2, St. Joseph, Mo., to the general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 43 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 3.

Ninth biennial report of State Hospital No. 3, Nevada, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

INSANE STATE HOSPITAL NO. 4.

Second biennial report of State Hospital No. 4. Farmington, Mo., to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to the Journals.

Second biennial report of the board of managers of State Hospital No. 4 at Farmington, Mo., for the years 1903 and 1904 to the Forty-third general assembly. Farmington, The Eagle Printery, n. d. 54 p. O. pap.

INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

Thirty-sixth annual report of the superintendent of the

insurance department for the year ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. lxxxiii, 770 p. O. cl.

Advance sheets were issued of the lxxxiii pages of above. O. pap.

Abstracts from statements of Missouri Town Mutual Fire Insurance Companies, December 31, 1904. W. D. Vandiver, superintendent. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 11 p. O. pap.

JUDGES, CONFERENCE OF.

Report of the Conference of Judges to point out uncertainties and incongruities in the statutes to Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 5 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

LIBRARY, MISSOURI STATE.

Catalogue of the law department of the Missouri State Library, Thomas W. Hawkins, librarian, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 441 p. O. 1-2 mor.

Report of the State Librarian to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 34 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE.

Report of receipts and expenditures on account of Lincoln Institute made by the board of regents for the years 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 15 p. o. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Thirty-fourth annual catalogue of Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., 1905-1906. Jefferson City, Republican Print, n. d. 53 p. illus. o. pap.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION.

Report of the Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis, Mo., 1904, February, 1905.

Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 292 p. O. pap.
Continued also in Appendix to Journals.

MEDITATION AND ARBITRATION.

Biennial report of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration to the Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 29 p. O. pap.
Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

MINES AND MINE INSPECTION.

Eighteenth annual report of the Bureau of Mines and Mine Inspection, embracing reports on lead, zinc, coal and other mines, year 1904. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 479, xv. p. illus. O. cl.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

First District, Kirksville.

Biennial report of the State Normal School (first district, Kirksville, Mo.) to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 52 p. o. pap.
Contained also in Appendix to Journals.
Biennial report of the board of regents of the first district Normal School, Kirksville, Missouri, to the Forty-third general assembly, January, 1905. Kirksville Democrat print, 1905. 62, [1] p. obl. illus. pap.
Also issued with cover title as Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 3, December, 1904.
Bulletin, vol. IV, No. 4, March, 1905. Summer School. [4] p. O. pap.
Bulletin, vol. V, No. 1. June, 1905. 110 p. illus. obl. pap.

Second District, Warrensburg.

Biennial report of the State Normal School (second district, Warrensburg,) to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 46 p. O. pap.
Contained also in Appendix to the Journals.
Biennial report of the board of regents of the State Nor-

mal School, second district, Warrensburg, Missouri, to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Warrensburg Star Press, 1905. 45 p. illus, O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 2, Feb. 1905. Register of Alumni and Historic Notes. 67 p. illus. O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. IV, No. 4, April, 1905. Summer bulletin. 8 p. O. pap.

Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1905. Thirty-fifth annual catalog and announcements for 1905-1906. 235, (2) p. illus. O. pap.

Third District, Cape Girardeau.

Biennial report of the State Normal School, Third district, Cape Girardeau, to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 42 p. illus. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Bulletins, Cape Girardeau. O.

Vol. 5, No. 3, [4] January, 1905. Nature Study Course. 39 p.

Vol. 5, No. 4, [5] March, 1905. Summer School bulletin. 13 p. illus. map.

Vol. 6, No. 1, June, 1905, [Thirty-second] Catalogue, Circular for 1905-1906. 96, [4] p. illus. O. pap.

Vol. 6, Nos. 2-3, Oct.-Dec. 1905. A teachers' course. [4] p. O. pap.

PENITENTIARY.

Biennial report of the Board of Inspectors, Wardens, Physician and Chaplain to the Forty-third general assembly, 1903-1904. Jefferson City, 1905. 266 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Fifty-fifth report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri school year ending June 30, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 124 p. illus. O. cl.

Revised courses of study for the rural and graded schools and for approved high schools in the State of Missouri, 1905. n. p., n. d. 99 pe. O. pap.

School law, 1905. Compulsory attendance law, (approved April 11, 1905.) n. t. p. 7 p. O.

Contains also opinion of attorney-general.

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE.

Thirtieth annual report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commisioners of the State of Missouri, year ending June 30, 1905. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 589, ix, p. O. 1-2 mor.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Official Manual of the State of Missouri for the years 1905-1906. Compiled and published by John S. Swanger, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, n. d. 581, x. p. O. cl.

Biennial report of corporations, 1903-1904. John E. Swanger, Secretary of State, Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 3, p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Roster of state and county officers of the State of Missouri, 1905. Compiled by John E. Swanger, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 53 p. O. pap.

Fifth biennial report on examinations of the state banks of Missouri to the Forty-third general assembly, 1905, by Sam B. Cook, Secretary of State. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, n. d. 399 p. O. cl.

Brief of bills passed by the Forty-third general assembly. Prepared by John E. Swanger, Secretary of State. n. t. p. 5 p. O. pap.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

Eighth biennial report of the Missouri Training School for boys, Boonville, Mo., 1903-1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 30 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

TREASURER.

Biennial report of the State Treasurer of the State of Missouri to the Forty-third general assembly. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 57 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Biennial report of the Board of Curators to the Forty-third general assembly for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Jefferson City, Tribune Printing Company, 1905. 349 p. O. pap.

President's annual report to the Board of Curators, 1904-1905. Columbia, E. W. Stephens Pub. Co., 1905. 122. [1] p. O. pap.

Bulletins of the University of Missouri,, Vol. VI, Columbia, 1905.

No. 1. January. The University of Missouri. 51 p. illus.

No. 2. February. 63 d. Catalogue, 1904-1905. 345 p.

No. 3. March. Summer session for 1905. 25 p.

No. 4. April. Department of law, announcement, 1905-1906. 23 p.

No. 5. May. Academic department. Circular of information, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 6. June. Teachers college announcement, 1905-1906. 4. p.

No. 6. June. Department of medicine announcement, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 7. July. General announcement, 1905-1906. 16 p.

No. 8. August. School of engineering. Circular of information, 1905-1906. 26 p.

No. 9. September. College of Agriculture announcement, 1905-1906. 20 p.

No. 10. October. College of agriculture. Short winter courses. 16 p. illus.

No. 11. November. Obligations and opportunities of the churches. 4 p.

No. 12. December. Announcement of the second semeister. 5 p.

Thirty-fourth annual catalogue of the School of Mines and Metallurgy, a department of the University of Missouri, Rolla, Mo., 1905. Rolla, Herald-Democrat print, n. d. 114 p. illus. O. pap.

UNIVERSITY VISITORS.

Report of the board of visitors of the University of Mis-

souri to the Forty-third General Assembly, Jefferson City. Tribune Printing Company, 1905, 15 p. O. pap.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Bibliography of Publications of the State Historical Society of Missouri and of papers read before it.

Constitution and by-laws of the State Historical Society of Missouri. n. t. p. 7 p.

First biennial report of the Executive Committee for the two years ending December 31, 1902. Columbia, 1903. 50 p.

Second biennial report of the Executive Committee for the two years ending December 31, 1904. Columbia, 1905. 45 p.

Two Missouri Historians. By H. E. Robinson, Maryville, Mo., 1902. 20 p. Read at the first annual meeting, December 5, 1901.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Missouri at its second annual meeting held January 22, 1903, at Columbia. Palmyra, 1903. 85 p.

The papers read at the above meeting were also printed in the Tenth Winter meeting of the Missouri Press Association, Jan., 1903.

Early history of railroads in Missouri, by W. J. Thornton, railroad editor Globe-Democrat.

This paper read at the second annual meeting was also published in the Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis.

It was also published in the "official proceedings" St. Louis Railway Club, Feb. 13, 1903, vol. vii. No. 10, pp. 7-22.

Personal recollections of some of Missouri's eminent statesmen and lawyers. Address of Hon. Chas. P. Johnson, delivered before the State Historical Society and Press Association of Missouri, at Columbia, Mo., January 22, 1903. St. Louis, n. d. 32 p.

This was one of the papers of the second annual meeting. It was also published in the Globe-Democrat, of St. Louis, Jan. 25, 1903.

A decade in Missouri Politics—1860 to 1870—from a Republican viewpoint. Address of Judge H. C. McDougall, of Kansas City, delivered before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, March 8th, 1904. [Kansas City, n. d.] 18 p.

Biographical sketch of Col. Benjamin Whiteman Grover.

(Paper by George S. Grover, at annual meeting of the Society.) n. p., n. d. 14 p.

Thomas Hart Benton, the great Missourian and his times reviewed by Hon. Thomas Jefferson Clark Fagg, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. [Louisiana, Mo.], 1905. 12 p.

An act to appropriate money for the construction of a fireproof building to be known as the Missouri Soldiers' Memorial building, for the use of the State Historical museum and for the accommodation of the libraries and historical collections of the University of Missouri and the State Historical Society of Missouri. n. t. p. [Columbia, Mo.] 3 p.

A plan for a worthy memorial to the brave soldiers of Missouri. n. t. p. [Columbia, 1905.] 4 p.

Missouri Soldiers' Memorial building to be devoted to historical museum and library purposes. [Maryville, 1905.] 8 p.

Radisson and Hennepin in the Mississippi Valley, by Millard Fillmore Stipes, Jamesport, Mo., 1906. 25 p.

Read before the Society at its annual meeting, Feb. 8th, 1906.

The Historical Society of Missouri. Circular No. 1, 3 p; Circular No. 2, 2 p.; Circular No. 3, 4 p.

Catalogue of publications by Missouri authors and periodicals of Missouri of 1903, in World's Fair exhibit in Missouri building. Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., 1904. 4 o. 47 p.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN MISSOURI.

KANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The society was organized December 17, 1895, under the name of "The Early Settlers," of Kansas City and vicinity. January 5, 1897, the name was changed to "The Early Settlers and Historical Society of Kansas City, Missouri," and again in January, 1906, the name was changed to the first above. Excellent historical papers have been presented to the society and will soon be published by it.

The officers for 1906 are: Wallace Laws, President; W. L. Campbell, First Vice President; James Kennedy, Second Vice President; Wm. H. H. Tainter, Secretary; Mrs. Carrie Wesltake Whitney, Corresponding Secretary; J. A. Bachman, Treasurer.

THE MISSOURI BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Organized October 24, 1885, at Missouri Baptist General Association at Carthage, Mo. The objects are to preserve data relating to the Baptists in Missouri or elsewhere and also historical data of other religious bodies.

The present officers are: President, J. C. Maple, D. D., Armstrong, Mo.; Vice President, R. Q. Duncan, Montgomery City: Secretary and Treasurer, H. E. Truex, D. D:, Mexico; Librarian, R. P. Rider, Liberty. Managers, J. T. M. Johnston, J. W. Million, W. O. Anderson, C. M. Truex. Headquarters, William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE MISSOURI CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Organized March 24, 1906. John Gillies, President; J. J. Bentley, John T. Pierce, J. H. Poland, O. S. Middleton and W. F. Burris, Vice Presidents; E. J. Gale, Recording Secretay; C. N. Wood, Corresponding Secretary; W. F. Null, Treasurer and Librarian; Trustees, Laymen, Ira K. Alderman, S. G. Brock, James Bragg, R. D. Cramer and George W. Moore. Ministers, Grant A. Robbins, R. L. Thompson, J. D. Mendenhall, W. C.

Harper and H. H. Newman. Offices, Missouri Wesleyan College, Cameron, Mo.

ST. LOUIS CONFERENCE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, M. E. CHURCH.—Organized 1899. Rev. Dr. O. M. Stewart, President, Rev. M. A. Curl, 2123 Clifton avenue, St. Louis, Secretary; O. M. Stewart, Wm. Stephens, H. B. Foster, T. H. Hagerty, D. W. Crow and M. L. Curl, Managers.

The society is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ST. LOUIS.—Instituted in 1866, and now possessing extensive library and archaeological collections and historic portraits and manuscripts.

The present officers are Cyrus A. Peterson, President; W. K. Bixby, First Vice President; David J. Bushnell, Second Vice President; Charles P. Pettus, Secretary; Albert T. Terry, Treasurer; Mary Louise Dalton, Librarian.

Publications: Collections.

PIKE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Organized December 31, 1904, with ex-Lieut. Gov. R. A. Campbell, President; M. S. Goodman and Judge Thos. J. C. Fagg, Vice Presidents, and Dr. Clayton Keith, Secretary.

The officers for 1906 are, Thos. J. C. Fagg, President; M. S. Goodman and Charles Yale, Vice Presidents; Clayton Keith, Secretary; E. L. Hesser, Treasurer; R. R. Rowley, Librarian and Custodian.

The special object of the society is to establish a historical library department in the public library at Louisiana, Mo., with records and relics of Pike county.

The society is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

PILOT KNOB MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.—Organized in 1903, to collect and preserve historical data bearing on the battle of Pilot Knob and the Price raid in Missouri in 1864. It holds annual meetings on the battle field, September 27th, the anniversary of the battle.

The present officers are David Murphy, President, St. Louis; H. C. Wilkinson, Secretary, Piedmont, Mo.; C. A. Peterson, Corresponding Secretary, St. Louis; Henry S. Carroll,

Treasurer, St. Louis; also seven Vice Presidents and seven Assistant Secretaries.

Publications: Annual Reports.

PETTIS COUNTY OLD SETTLERS ASSOCIATION.—Organized October 7, 1905, with residents of Pettis county who have resided in Missouri fifty years. Officers: W. W. Herold, President; Peter Courtney, Vice President; M. A. Ayres, Secretary.

The Association is auxiliary to the State Historical Society.

NOTES.

The Historical Society of Linn county, Iowa, has published Proceedings, Vol. 1, 1904-05, which contains a portrait and life of Senator Lewis Fields Linn, by Rev. Dr. E. R. Burkhalter. At a time when Iowa was a territory and consequently without representation in the U. S. Senate, Senator Linn was as active in looking after the interests of the people of that territory as if it had been a part of Missouri, and he was called by them the "Iowa Senator." That state named a county for him, and one of the active historical societies of the state is in that county.

Another local historical society in Iowa, the Madrid Historical Society, has issued a publication that is of special interest to Missourians. It is a pamphlet of several articles by C. L. Lucas, of Madrid, Iowa, one of which is a sketch of "Col. Nathan Boone, the man after whom a county and a river in Iowa were named." Many of the states have a Boone county, all of which were named for Daniel Boone, except that in Iowa which was named for Nathan, the youngest son of Daniel.

His father came to Missouri in 1795, but Nathan did not come till 1800. From 1804 to 1812 he was employed surveying government land in what is now St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren counties, and in 1807, he, with his brother, Daniel, surveyed a road from St. Charles to Boone's Lick in Howard county, a road that is still in use. In 1820 he finished a large two-story stone house in St. Charles county, and in this house

THE MISSOURI FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

Last spring certain teachers and students of the University of Missouri came together to discuss the advisability of forming a society for the study of folk-lore in the state. The suggestion came originally from the Secretary of the American Folk-Lore Society and Associate Editor of the Journal of American Folk-Lore, Mr. W. W. Newell, whose attention had been called to Missouri as a folk-lore field by the work of Missouri students in collecting popular ballads. The result of the meeting was that a constitution was drafted and copies of it, accompanied by a brief statement of the aim of the proposed organization, sent to a number of persons who it was believed would join in the undertaking. The response has been encouraging. Sometime in the winter, probably in January, the first meeting of the Society will be held. At this meeting plans will be perfected for carrying on the work of collecting and comparing folk-lore material in a systematic fashion, and papers will be read by folk-lore students from different parts of the state.

Folk-lore as a study has much in common with local history. Its sources are much the same—local tradition and domestic records—and the same impulse of local patriotism may lead to one or the other. Yet their material and their aim are sufficiently distinct. History deals with occurrences, with facts and dates, with what people have done; folk-lore deals with the products of popular imagination, with ritual, social customs, songs and tales—what the people have fancied or believed. In the words of a competent authority, it is "that body of oral tradition which is handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. It includes the myths, legends, popular beliefs, folk-songs and folk-tales of all countries." Thus folk-lore takes cognizance of much that history, at least in the ordinary acceptation of the term, overlooks; and although it finds its material in the present it lights a stage of human development that lies back of historical record, or

aspects of development that would otherwise escape our scrutiny. It is this consideration that has led to the formation of a distinct branch of scholarship, co-operating with history but seeking its special material and handling it in its own way. The Missouri Folk-Lore Society seeks the co-operation of all—individuals, clubs, societies—that are interested in the social condition of Missouri, past or present, and will itself co-operate with them.

Anyone who is interested in the movement may communicate with the secretary pro tem, Prof. H. M. Belden, of Columbia, who will give detailed information as to the plans of the society.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 1. JANUARY, 1907. NO. 2.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS OF MISSOURI, 1865-1875.*

Since Missouri assumed the form and exercised some of the functions of a State government in 1820, it has held four constitutional conventions and adopted three constitutions in the following chronogical order: 1. In St. Louis, the seat of government, and in the "Mansion House," a hotel, on June 12, 1820, consisting of 41 delegates elected by the qualified voters of the 15 counties then organized, David Barton, of St. Louis, president. The constitution, called "The Barton Constitution," took effect by authority of the convention, (which adjourned on July 19, 1820) and was not submitted to a vote of the people. 2. At the August election of 1845, pursuant to an act of the Legislature, 66 delegates were elected to a convention by the 28 districts into which the State was divided,

*Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia Missouri, March 8, 1904.

to remodel the constitution. They met in Jefferson City on November 17, 1845, elected Judge Robert W. Wells, of Cole, president, formulated a new constitution, which they submitted to a vote of the people, and adjorned *sine die* January 14, 1846. The election was held in August of the same year, and the people rejected the constitution by a majority of 8,460—the vote being: for the constitution, 25,215; against it 33,675; total, 58,890. No returns were received from Gentry, Knox, Ozark and Pulaski counties. David M. Hickman and John F. Stone were delegates from Boone. 3. The convention of 1865 framed a constitution afterward adopted by the people. 4. The constitution of 1875 was adopted by the people, and is now the organic law of the State.

Both of the two last bodies and the constitutions they formed will now be considered more in detail—in truth they constitute the warp and woof, the paramount concern of this paper.

I was a member of both conventions, a fact that can not be affirmed of any other citizen. During my service in each, and for many before and after it, I was editor of the Statesman newspaper at Columbia, and am indebted to my reports to that journal and *Switzler's History of Missouri* subsequently published in a large volume for much of what follows.

Convention of 1865.

This body and its extraordinary proceedings were outgrowths of the civil war. The purpose to hold it, as well as the policies it ordained, were conceptions of the war period. Hence they were hostile to the methods and the fraternal spirit of peace; intolerant, malicious, ragged of edge and revolutionary.

The proposition to hold a convention for the triple purpose of amending the Constitution to emancipate the slaves; to preserve in purity the elective franchise to "loyal citizens; and such other amendments as might be deemed essential to the promotion of the public good," was adopted by the General Assembly and approved by the governor February 13, 1864, in the midst of the war, and ratified at the polls at the November

election of the same year by nearly 30,000 majority; and 66 delegates to the convention were elected at the same time.

A general canvass of the subject was of course not attempted in the midst of the intolerance, intimidation, and violence which prevailed. The prevalence of armed men, the raids and outrages of predatory bands of guerrillas and the bitter feeling engendered by the bloody and fratricidal war which prevailed, very largely repressed the activity of political orators who were opposed to the convention and kept from the polls many of those who did not favor the proposition.

Therefore it carried, and the convention met in the Hall of Mercantile Library, St. Louis, on January 6, 1865, and organized by the election of Arnold Krekel, of St. Charles, as president.

The first subject which engaged the attention of the convention was Emancipation; and before the appointment of the standing committees which it had been made the duty of the president to name, or of a special committee of Emancipation, several ordinances were introduced to provide for it. Little delay, however, was experienced before this committee was announced, with George P. Strong, a lawyer of St. Louis, chairman, and all the ordinances on the subject were referred to it.

On January 11, 1865, the fifth day of the session, Mr. Strong reported from the committee and recommended the adoption of "An ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri," as follows:

"That hereafter, in this State, there shall be neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

The introduction, consideration and passage of the ordinance were forshadowed by much preparation, which in fact largely partook of the spectacular in "pomp and circumstane." A large number of citizens who were in sympathy with the radical purposes of the convention, together with soldiers in uniform and colonels, majors and captains in glittering ar-

ray, crowded the hall. "The Hutchison Family," a celebrated Abolition troop of vocalists then visiting the city, were invited to occupy the platform with the officers of the convention and to invoke the contributory magic of vocal music in aid of the patriotic ardor of the great occasion.

Doubtless the chief and most active promoter of scenes so imposing imagined that the passage of the ordinance would be prominently registered in history and gratefully cherished in the memories of the slaves of Missouri as an event, the anniversary of which would be annually celebrated by large assemblies, parades, banquets, songs, revelry and speech making.

How vain and disappointing, however, are often the fondest hopes of the most wise, otherwise, and patriotic! The anniversary of the passage of the "Ordinance of Emancipation," January 11, is never observed. Probably not one in a hundred of the descendants of the former slaves of Missouri ever heard of it. And why? Not because it did not pass the convention. for it was adopted by a vote of 60 yeas to 4 nays.

Commenting upon its passage in the Statesman of January 20, 1865, I said in part:

"Missouri is a free state! The rebellion made it so, for rebellion, civil war and slavery can not co-exist. Thus we and other Union men spoke and warned the people in 1861. Our utterances were then unheeded. Now our predictions are history. Long before the convention assembled, we expressed the conviction that slavery was practically dead in Missouri—existed only in name. It required no ordinance to sound the knell of its departure. Before the adoption of the ordinance the slaves, old and young, male and female, could go at pleasure with about as much freedom as since. Thousands of them did go."

The ordinance did not emancipate them. Therefore its adoption on January 11, 1865, is not such a momentous event in the State's annals as to insure it against oblivion.

Slavery in Missouri was abolished without it by the inexorable and irrepealable logic of the civil war; and all the ordinance could accomplish was to record the fact in legal

phrase and by a tribunal which *prima facie* had jurisdiction of the subject . As a law it had little significance. As a fact it existed without the law.

The convention had not been very long in session before it became apparent that some of the principal and most radical leaders were determined to give its proceedings a wider sweep and deeper cut than generally contemplated. Mere "amendments" to the organic law were too tame and unsatisfactory, especially to the ablest man of their number, Charles D. Drake, of St. Louis, the Ajax Telemon of the convention in whose bonnet was even then buzzing the ambition to occuy a seat in the Senate of the United States. Under his radical and aggressive leadership a thoroughly remodeled and new constitution was determined upon and the purpose was finally accomplished.

Many of the ablest and most highly honored citizens of the state, both federal and confederate, seriously questioned the wisdom of reforms so sweeping and strenuously opposed them. They denied in the first place the authority of the convention, under the law calling it into existence, to ordain and submit to the people an entire new constitution. Moreover they maintained, with reasons which were outgrowths of sincere and well-grounded fears, that delegates fresh from scenes of bitter strife and the turbulence of civil war, and holding their sessions while that war was in progress, were illy fitted for the dispassionate deliberation and statesmanlike conclusions demanded by the gravity of the crisis.

Nevertheless the convention proceeded with its wholesale work of reform and revolution, and through the instrumentality of committee reports and inflammatory and excitable bloody-shirt oratory evolved new and revolutionary provisions in almost every article of the fundamental law.

Thomas B. Harris, of Callaway, and Wm. F. Switzler, of Boone, were delegates to the convention from the A, B, C district—Audrain, Boone and Callaway.

The time limitations prescribed for the papers of this occasion forbid even brief mention and certainly all discussions of a tithe of the extraordinary, malevolent and partisan enactments of the convention. The "ousting ordinance" was of

the number, by which all the judges of the supreme court, circuit courts and of all courts of record, including all judges and clerks of county courts, circuit attorneys, sheriffs and county recorders elected by the people and aggregating in number perhaps one thousand were declared deprived, and authority given the radical governor, Thomas C. Fletcher, then in office, to appoint their successors; with the further mandate that each of the appointees before assuming office should take the oath of loyalty prescribed by the second section of the ordinance on that subject passed by what is known as "The Gamble Convention," June 10, 1862.

On the day of the final vote on the ordinance abolishing slavery and while said ordinance was pending, Mr. Knight G. Smith, of Mercer, introduced a resolution appointing a committee of five "to ascertain whether there is any member, or members, elected to this convention who have, in any way, identified themselves in favor of the rebellion, and report as soon as possible." The committee appointed was: Mr. Smith, Lewis H. Weatherby, of De Kalb, Dr. Wm. H. Folmsbee, of Davies, Alexander H. Martin, of Lincoln, and Reeves Leonard, of Howard. This resolution was regarded by many as a bluff, as a scare-crow to frighten into concurrence with the majority any who might feel a spirit of resistance to the alleged purposes of the more radical leaders of the convention. It was later found, however, that some of those who were the most noisy and boastful of their "loyalty" reposed on sleeping volcanoes which if disturbed by uncovering the records they had made in 1861 or earlier, might cause eruptions of fire and lava, and odors of "sympathies with the South" of disagreeable and embarrassing fragrance.

Right of Suffrage—Oath of Loyalty.

The article of the constitution (Article II, section 3), which prescribed the qualifications of voters, very naturally excited paramount interest in the convention and profound and universal concern among the people. It vitally affected the liberties of all the citizens of the state, of thousands and tens of thousands of those who had made the state what it was, the

heads of families and taxpayers who owned the state, and old pioneers and their descendants who by service and sacrifice had laid the foundations of its prosperity and proud achievements. This article proposed to abolish their right to participate at the polls in the choice of those who were to make, expound and administer the laws for their government—in short its purpose was to deny the right of self government to a large portion of the people by ignominiously driving them from the ballot.*

The time-limit so abridges this paper as to cut out the history of Article II. The oath provided for voters, holders of any office of honor, trust or profit, teachers in educational institutions or in any common or other school, no difference whether such teacher be a male or female, and ministers of the gospel, was the most remarkable and indefensible legislation of the kind known to the history of any free state, so-called, on the face of the globe. It fills a page of an ordinary law book; is the longest sentence in the English language to be found in any volume of ancient or modern times of which I have knowledge; is iron-clad and expurgatory; conceived in a spirit of malice and revenge; at war with the spirit of conciliation and peace, and (as I denounced it on the floor of the convention) "the consummation of a dire conspiracy against the rights and peace of the people."

Yet on April 1, 1865, the oath was adopted, 30 to 7, and on the eighth day of the same month the constitution itself as a whole was passed—yeas, 38; noes, 13. On April 10th the convention adjourned *sine die*.

An election was held on June 6, 1865, and the constitution was ratified by the people: yeas, 43,670; noes, 41,808. Majority for it, 1,862. Whole number of votes cast (including soldiers' votes), 85,478. The constitution went into effect, July 4, 1865.

*In 1860 the total number of votes cast for governor in Boone county was 2,656. In 1868, under the disfranchisements of the "Draconian Code" and the manipulations of the three partisan county registrars only 410 citizens were allowed to vote and Gen. Grant's majority over Horatio Seymour for president was 6.

It would be unjust to the integrity of this history of this extraordinary constitution were it not recorded that it contained many wise and conservative provisions having no reference to suffrage, among which may be mentioned Article IX on Education. But this and some others were overshadowed and lost to view during the canvass by the abnormal, revolutionary and more drastic enactments.

Convention of 1875.

The reign of the constitution of 1865 was "of few days and full of trouble"—only ten years., whereas its predecessor was the law of the land for nearly a half century. On May 5, 1875, a new convention to revise the state constitution assembled in the hall of representatives in the state capital. Sixty-eight members were elected to the body. In severa. noteworthy respects it was perhaps the most remarkable par liamentary assemblage known to the history of Missouri. That it was among the ablest, most industrious and the most non-partisan will not be questioned. Partisans and party policies were unknown and unmentioned. Yet before the final adjournment it was ascertained that the convention consisted of sixty democrats, six republicans and two liberals —the republicans being Malcomb McKillop, of Atchison, T. J. Johnson, of Nodaway, Charles D. Eitzen, of Gasconade, and Henry T. Mudd and George H. Shields, of St. Louis, The Liberals were Robert W. Fyan, of Webster, and Louis Gottschalk, of St. Louis. All the remainder were democrats.

Wm. F. Switzler, of Columbia, and John F. Rucker, of Sturgeon, represented the district of Audrain, Callaway and Boone counties.

As the law authorizing its existence provided, the secretary of state, Michael K. McGrath, called the convention to order and presided until a permanent organization was effected by the election of a president and other officers. After the report from the committee on credentials had been made and adopted and the oath of office administered to the members, nominations for president were in order and were called for by the secretary of state. Strangely enough none were made.

They were again called for with the same result. He then ordered a call of the roll, with this result: For president—Waldo P. Johnson 17, Nathaniel W. Watkins 13, E. H. Norton 12, Wm. F. Switzler 10, James O. Broadhead 7. None of those voted for were candidates and some of them thus announced after the first ballot. On the sixth ballot Mr. Johnson received a majority of the votes cast and was declared elected. Mr. Watkins was then elected vice president by acclamation. Rev. Dr. Wm. M. Prottsman opened the convention by prayer.

A thorough revision of the entire organic law from the bill of rights to miscellaneous provisions inclusive was made.

Early in the session Judge Washington Adams, of Cooper, introduced in pamphlet form an entire constitution, a copy of which I have preserved.

The Bill of Rights—Judge T. T. Gantt, of St. Louis, chairman of the committee—occupied much time and was a theme of exhaustive discussion. Section 3 on local self government, 7 on religion, 18 on officers giving personal attention to their duties and 20 concerning taking private property for public use, are new.

The legislative department, Article IV, was much debated, and many of the sections in regard to legislative proceedings are new and of vital importance to the people. This is true of the sections from 25 to 44 inclusive which, summarized, provide that no law shall be passed except by bill; that no bill, except appropriation bills, shall contain more than one subject; that all amendments adopted shall be printed with the engrossed bill before its passage; that no bill shall become a law unless on its final passage the vote be taken by yeas and nays; that no law, except the general appropriation act, shall take effect until 90 days after final adjournment unless an emergency clause be enacted by two-thirds vote of all the members elected to each house, and that before a bill is signed by the presiding officer of each house it shall be read at length in the hearing of the members. Henry C. Brokmeyer, of St. Louis, was chairman of the committee and the people of Missouri are chiefly indebted to him for many of the provisions

enacted. The subjects of representation and apportionment were referred to a special committee of thirteen of which Judge E. H. Norton, of Platte, was chairman, and they developed great diversity of views and occasioned protracted and exciting discussion. Despite all opposition, however, county representation was maintained. It found a place in the first constitution of the state in 1820, known as "the Barton Constitution," and in "the Drake Constitution" of 1865. The argument that it recognized representation of county and district subdivisions of territory, regardless of population, did not avail to change or interdict it.

Article V, executive department, Edward McCabe, of Marion, chairman of the committee, made the sessions of the general assembly biennial and the gubernatorial term was changed from two to four years and the governor rendered ineligible to re-election as his own successor.

In the judicial department, Article VI, Washington Adams, of Cooper, chairman of committee, many new and important provisions were enacted, among them that the term of judges of the supreme court was fixed at ten years; the St. Louis Court of Appeals of three judges was established to hold office for twelve years; also five circuit court judges, for term of six years—all elected by the people.

Revenue and Taxation, Article X, Wm. H. Letcher, of Saline, chairman of committee. This article engaged earnest and protracted investigation by the committee and convention and many new and very important sections were adopted. Among them (Sec. 8) that the state tax, exclusive of the tax to pay the bonded debt of the state, shall not exceed 20 cents on the $100, and shall not exceed 15 cents whenever the taxable property of the state amounts to $900,000,000. Also (Secs. 11 and 12) the taxing and debt-contracting powers of the legislature and of counties, cities, towns and all other municipalities were hedged about by effective safeguards and limitations. Great increase in the population of the state and of its taxable wealth and the extinction of the state indebtedness and municipal debts as well, have impressed many intelligent citizens with

the conviction that we have outgrown these limitations and that they ought to be at least partially relaxed.

The committee of Education (Article XI), of which Mr. Switzler, of Boone, was made chairman, proceeded with diligence to the discharge of the important duties assigned to it. The committee consisted of the following: W. F. Switzler, chairman; Jacob Pulitzer, of St. Louis, George H. Shields, of St. Louis, G. W. Carleton, of Pemiscot, H. V. McKee, of Lincoln, D. C. Allen, of Clay, and W. H. Letcher, of Saline. Afterwards Albert Todd, of St. Louis, was added. The free public school system stood in the front rank of the committee's deliberations. Provisions for the increase and preservation of state and county funds for its maintenance were topics of earnest thought and solicitude, and received recognition in the article on education adopted. Believing that higher education was positively essential to the most successful dissemination of the lower or common, and intermediate, the interests of the State University were not neglected nor undervalued. Among other things it was made the duty of the general assembly to "aid and maintain the State University now established with its present departments"—among its departments then and now being the Agricultural College and School of Mines, and the departments of law and medicine. Severally and collectively these are to be aided and maintained by the legislature, the policy indicated being among the sworn duties of the members of each house. The number of curators was fixed at nine, which being inlaid in the constitution is placed beyond the whims of biennial changes by the Legislature to subserve personal or party purposes, to which the number constituting the board was exposed during all the previous history of the institution.

The third section ordained that "Separate free public schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent."

On August 2, 1875, after the adoption of the constitution as a whole by a vote of yeas, 60; noes, none; absent, 8, the convention adjourned *sine die*. On October 30 of the same year the people ratified it at the polls: yeas, 91,205; against it,

14,517; majority, 76,688; and on November 30, 1875, it became the supreme law of the state and (with the exception of amendments since adopted) remains such to this day.

Three competent stenographers were employed by the convention to report in full its proceedings and its debates and it was done, but the Legislature has never made an appropriations for its publication. The report is on file in manuscript in the office of the Secretary of State.

W. F. SWITZLER.

THE SHACKELFORD AMENDMENT.*

The subject of this paper is the amendment presented by me, to the resolution presented by the Committee on Resolutions, in the Constitutional Convention of 1860-1861.

The amendment reads as follows to the fifth resolution:

"And it is the opinion of this convention that the cherished desire to preserve the country and restore fraternal feelings would be promoted by the withdrawal of the federal troops from such parts of the seceded states where there is danger of a collision between the federal and state forces." This resolution was by common consent afterwards changed in phraseology to read as follows:

"And, in order to the restoring of harmony and fraternal feeling between the different sections, we would recommend the policy of withdrawing the federal troops from the forts within the borders of the seceding states where there is danger of collision between the state and federal troops."

Before proceeding to discuss the motives which prompted the presentation of this amendment, it may be well to allude to the two antagonistic constructions of the constitution of the United States in regard to the relations of the several states to the government of the United States.

The one may be considered as embodied in the speech of Edward Everett on the amendment of Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, to the constitution of the United States in March, 1826. (1) "The present government of the United States is a national government, not, (like the old one), a confederacy of states. The president is the president of the people; the representatives, the representatives of the people; the judiciary, the judiciary of the people; and the senate, the only

*Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, February, 1906.

1. *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, page 85, vol. 9.

branch which represents the states as such. Though the present constitution was formed by compact between states equally sovereign, it is not itself a compact between states retaining an equal share of the sovereignity, as was the case with the former confederation."

The other doctrine is contained in the resolutions of the legislature of South Carolina, presented to congress January 11, 1833. (2) The fourth resolution proclaimed the following doctrine:

Resolved, "That each State of the Union has the right whenever it may deem such a course necessary for the preservation of its liberty or vital interest, to secede from the Union. And that there is no constitutional power in the general government, much less in the executive department of that government, to retain such state by force in the Union."

Let it be remembered that at this time there were no internal revenue taxes and the expenses of the government were borne by the levy of import duties. The state of South Carolina claimed the right to object to the payment of these import duties. This act of the state of South Carolina called forth the proclamation of President Andrew Jackson. (3) A majority of the convention of 1860 adhered to the doctrine announced in the proclamation as follows:

"The right of the people of a single state to absolve themselves, at will and without the consent of the other states, from these most solemn obligations, and to hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing the Union, can not be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general government is constituted and to the objects it is expressly formed to attain."

In view of the general character of Andrew Jackson, no one will accuse him of lowering the standard of the Union of States or of shrinking from a due enforcement of the laws. No one doubted that he had the right, in view of his constitutional

2. *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress*, page 12, vol. 12.
3. *Debates of Congress*, page 13, vol. 12.

obligations, to exert the power of the government to protect his officers in the collecting of the duties, and leave to the judiciary the province of indicating the violations of law for treason.

Instead of sending his soldiers to South Carolina, he put his collectors on board of ships outside the harbors, and thus collected the duties.

The same state of affairs existed in 1860, except that there was a small number of soldiers at Fort Sumpter, who were powerless under existing circumstances to enforce the collection of customs, but were only a menace to the citizens of the insurgent state. I had kept in touch with the people of the South through a brother residing in Tennessee. I was informed that the people of the South were far from being a unit in favor of secession. Hence I was of the opinion that war might be averted by removing troops from places where there might be a pretext to attack them, and thus give the people an opportunity to recede from the position forced upon them by the leaders in this movement, so far reaching in disastrous results.

The convention had a right to hope and believe that the same result, which followed the action of General Jackson, would follow the action of congress, in the resolutions of Felix Grundy, who moved a substitute for the resolutions of John C. Calhoun. (4) One of these resolutions thus calmly announces the power of congress:

Resolved, "That attempts to obstruct or prevent the execution of the several acts of congress imposing duties on imports, whether by ordinances of conventions or legislative enactments, are not warranted by the constitution and are dangerous to the political institutions of the country."

The members of the convention well knew that the tiger, when he has once snuffed blood, becomes unrestrained, uncontrollable. We knew that when the "dogs of war" were unloosed, a terrible struggle would ensue.

The advice of the Missouri convention was not heeded by the general government. The appeal of Alexander F.

4. *Debates of Congress*, page 24, vol. 12.

Stephens, of Georgia, to the sober second thought of the people was disregarded by the Southern people. The hopes of the members of the convention were in vain. The United States troops were retained at Fort Sumpter. The Southern states hoped to fire the Southern heart by the attack and capture of the Fort. But, alas! the hostile act of the Southern troops acted as a boomerang and aroused the patriotic people of the other states, and it was determined to coerce the seceded states to an obedience to the federal laws.

A short review of the condition of public sentiment in the Southern States just prior to the secession movement may not be inappropriate. Thomas Jefferson, who was par excellence the greatest adherent for the protection of individual liberty, had promulgated the opinion that human slavery was wrong in the abstract ,and that it was the duty of the government to rid itself of the evil as soon as possible. The conservative men of the South, while holding the opinion that the institution was wrong in the abstract, yet, while the institution was under the protection of the law and the organic constitution of the United States believed that the holding of slaves was not necessarily sinful. (5) In the meantime selfish considerations were slowly molding public sentiment adversely to the opinion of Thomas Jefferson. In the year 1856, Dr. William A. Smith, the president of the Randolph-Macon college, in Virginia, boldly took the view that human slavery was right per se, and, contrary to the view of Jefferson, was right in the abstract. Hence, if universally right and constitutionally right, it was wrong to advocate the freedom of the slave. (6)

In this connection it is well to consider the attitude of an all-wise Providence in regard to evils practiced by nations. It is the purpose of God that evils in nations shall be eradicated by the spirit of love inculcated by the Son of God in the Golden Rule. In case this can not be accomplished, by reason of the sinfulness of nations, then He permits the evil to run its own course of destruction by violence. It is apparent that,

5. *Paul's Letter to Philemon.*
6. *Philosophy and Practice of Slavery.* Sec. 1. Dr. Wm. A. Smith.

when the opinions of Dr. Smith prevailed in the South, then the destruction of the institution was inevitable; and such was the result. "For every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood. But this shall be with burning and fuel of fire."

An incident with which I was personally connected will not be inappropriate here. I was the colleague of General Sterling Price in the convention. While the discussion was going on in regard to the attitude of Missouri, Mr. Bast offered an amendment to the resolution then pending, the purport of which was that

"In the event the Northern States did not agree to the adjustment of the slavery question and that the border states, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas and Kentucky, shall decide to change the relations they now hold to the general government, the State of Missouri will not hesitate to take a firm and decided stand in favor of her sister slave states."

The vote on the amendment showed a very large majority in favor of Missouri remaining in the Union, regardless of the position of the border states. Only 23 voted in its favor. Among those voting in its favor was General Price. That evening, after the vote, General Price said to me in a private conversation, "You were surprised at my vote today." "Yes," I said. He then said to me: "I believe that war is inevitable. I am a military man. I can't fight against the South; so I must go with the border states. I was, as you know, against secession, but was in favor of revolution. This will be a revolution, the greatest in the world."

General Price never met in the convention after its first adjournment.

I voted against the amendment, contending that Missouri must act from principle and not simply follow the decision of the other border states.

An interesting incident connected with my vote on the Bast amendment occurred on my return to my home. I mention this incident to show the character of Missourians. They may have differed as to policies; but, as regards individual rights they were characterized by a sense of justice that rose

far above mere partisan differences, and showed in action an indomitable courage to condemn the wrong and commend the right that astonished the world. But to the incident. When I returned to my home in Glasgow, I found hand bills scattered around calling a public meeting to condemn Judge Hall and myself for our vote on the Bast amendment. I went to Fayette on the day of the meeting and found an excited crowd assembled.

The meeting was organized and a chairman selected. I pushed my way to the judge's stand and on the steps I appealed to the chairman for permission to explain my vote on the amendment. The crowd hissed and yelled and said they did not wish to hear me; that my vote was sufficient. I then asked the privilege of speaking from the court house steps to those who wished to hear me. "No, no, not in this county," was the response. Just at this moment I discovered a commotion in the back of the house. Soon I discerned a man in gray uniform with about ten men following him, all dressed in uniform with pistols at their sides. The crowd gave way. The captain arranged his men in a circle around me, and took his stand beside me with hand on his revolver. He addressed the crowd, saying: "I start South on next Monday. My sense of justice makes me demand that you hear Mr. Shackelford before you condemn him, and I say he shall speak." Turning to me, he said, "Now speak, Mr. Shackelford, and I will protect you." A hushed silence pervaded the assembly. I said to the crowd: "I want to talk to Missourians. I am a native Missourian. I want to talk to Missourians on this crisis which now confronts us. I ask now for every native Missourian to rise to his feet." A large number arose. I continued: "Now, my friends, let us dispassionately, as brave men, discuss this Resolution. What is its purport? We will not go out of the Union on principle, but, if the other border states go out, Missouri must join in the movement. Is this brave? Is it courageous for Missourians to take such a cowardly position? And now, fellow Missourians, if you are of the opinion that I should have voted for such a cowardly resolu-

tion to Missourians, then condemn me; and I submit with sorrow and mortification."

There was a hushed silence for a moment—then applause —then a motion to approve my vote, and an almost unanimous approval was the result. Was I not then proud that I was a Missiourian!

There is another episode connected with this incident. Thirty years afterward, sitting in my office, a woman entered and said to me: "My husband has been indicted and I come to ask you to defend him." I said to her, "Yes, I will defend him; and it shall not cost you a cent." That woman was the daughter of the confederate captain who stood beside me in the court house thirty years before. An associate and myself quashed the indictment. The gratitude of the daughter and wife was unbounded; and, Union man as I had been, I was glad of the opportunity to assist the daughter of the confederate captain, brave man, who had stood beside me on that eventful day thirty years before.

We appeal to a candid public that, in view of an impending war unparalleled in the annals of history, we did right in trying to prevent a calamity so great. The heroism, subsequently manifested in the contest between brethren, astonished the world.

An old Commodore in the navy, whose son commanded the "Congress" in the battle raging at the mouth of the Chesepeake bay, sat in his office awaiting tidings of the result. A messenger entered announcing that the "Congress had struck her flag." The old man bowed his head, exclaiming, "Then Joe is dead." It was even so.

In anticipation of such a conflict, what could we do but obey the injunction of the Divine Arbiter of nations. "Come, my people, enter into thy chambers; shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself, as it were, a little moment until the indignation be overpast."

I would not call to remembrance this dark period in our nation's history fraught with such dire results. It is related of Thaddeus Stephens, on the authority of Senator Vest, that, when a bill was pending in congress to restore the tattered

battle flags to the South, he said, that if he had his way, he would collect the battle flags of the Union and those of the South, and burn the whole together as a burnt sacrifice. Such was the policy of the Romans to erect no monuments to fraternal strife.

But, alas! alas! the mourning households in the North and the South, the immense national debt, the enormous pension roll, the multitude of officials collecting the internal revenue are constant reminders of this fratricidal conflict.

As we can not cast a veil over this dark period in our country's history, I feel that we did what we could. "But the blood of brethren cries unto the throne of God."

And, now, as we stand beside you today, the small remnant of the actors in this great drama, and all these remembrances arise to our vision, like Banquo's Ghost, we can say, my brethren, with truth,

"Shake not thy gory locks at me,
Thou canst not say, 'I did it.'"

May our American poet fill all our hearts, with new meaning and new force, from his words:

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

"Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee—
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears
Are all with thee, are all with thee."

THOMAS SHACKELFORD.

COL. BENJAMIN WHITEMAN GROVER. (1)

Benjamin Whiteman Grover was born in Xenia, Green county, Ohio, on October 27, 1811. His father, Josiah Grover, was a native of Maryland, and was of Welsh ancestry. His mother, whose maiden name was Martha McClure, was a native of Virginia, and was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His education was acquired at Xenia, in the public schools of that day. His father was for many years Circuit Clerk of Green county, Ohio, and Benjamin Grover was a Deputy Clerk in that office from 1828 to 1834.

In the year last named, Benjamin Grover removed to Madison, Ind., where, on September 30, 1834, he was married to Letitia Downing Sheets. In that year he joined a Masonic Lodge in Madison, Ind. In 1842 he removed to the city of St. Louis, Mo., and there affiliated with Naphtali Lodge No. 25 (Masonic). In April, 1844, he removed his family from Madison, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo., and in October of that year removed to Warrensburg, Mo., where he settled on a farm, which is now a part of that city. Grover's addition and Grover street, in that city, were each named for him. In 1846 he organized the first Masonic Lodge in Johnson county, Mo. (Johnson Lodge No. 85), which is still in existence.

In political faith he was always an enthusiastic Whig, and devoted follower of his personal friend, Henry Clay. In 1840, in Indiana, he took an active part, as a leading Whig, in the Presidential campaign of that year in that state. Thus, he became as he remained through life, an effective and forceful speaker, possessing a wonderful memory, accurate literary taste, and thorough culture. He was also, though modest, reserved, and gentle in demeanor, of winning address, exceedingly tender-hearted, wholly devoid of malice, but of unlimited

1. Read (in abstract) before the State Historical Society of Missouri, March, 1904.

will power, fixed resolution, which neither adversity nor defeat could weaken or check, inflexible honesty, and wholly incapable of fear. Of medium size, compactly built, he was also gifted with a constitution of iron, equal to any emergency, and able to endure any sort of hardship with apparent ease. He was never weary of serving his many friends, and for that reason was always far stronger than his party. All of these qualities combined to make him, as he was, a born leader of men.

From 1844 to 1848 he was actively engaged as a country merchant in Warrensburg, Mo., and during that time also he effected a complete organization of the Whig party in that county. In 1848 he was elected Sheriff of Johnson county, running largely ahead of his ticket, and he served in that capacity for four years, leaving a splendid record as a capable and efficient officer.

During all of his life, even before removing to Missouri, he had given much time and study to all questions concerning public schools and internal improvements, and his views upon those and other questions were far in advance of his time. Immediately upon his arrival in Warrensburg in 1844, therefore, in addition to organizing a Masonic Lodge and the Whig party in the county, he re-organized a public school district in Warrensburg, and commenced agitating the project of an east and west railroad through the county connecting St. Louis and Kansas City. These efforts ceased only with the abrupt termination of his life. The magnificent school facilities now enjoyed in Missouri, especially in Warrensburg, and the fine railroad lines now traversing the state, are enduring monuments to his wisdom, energy, foresight and public spirit.

At the close of his term of office as Sheriff, in 1852, he was elected to the state Senate for a term of four years, again leading his ticket. That Senatorial district was then composed of Lafayette and Johnson counties. He rode to and from Warrensburg to Jefferson City on horseback, and carried with him two bills on which he had bestowed years of study

and anxious thought. One was an act to reconstruct the public school system of the state, so as to place a good common school education within the reach of every pupil of proper age, and to put such schools upon a permanent and self-supporting basis, while the other was an act to authorize, on broad and fair lines, the incorporation of companies for the purpose of constructing and operating railroads in the state.

His efforts in behalf of railroad legislation bore the first fruit, as the amended charter of the Pacific Railroad, February 24th, 1853, the amended charters of the North Missouri Railroad, now the Wabash, January 7th, 1853, and December 12th, 1855, respectively, the amended charter of the Iron Mountain Railroad, February 17th, 1853, the charter of the Platte County Railroad, now a part of the Burlington, February 24th, 1853, the Cairo and Fulton Railroad, now a part of the Iron Mountain, February 20th, 1855, the act to aid in the construction of the Pacific Railroad, March 3d, 1855, and the act to secure the completion of the Pacific, the Southwest Branch, now the Frisco, the Hannibal and St. Joseph, now the Burlington, the North Missouri, now the Wabash, and the Iron Mountain, December 10th, 1855, were all measures which he not only aided to pass, in the Senate and House, but assisted to frame as well.

In addition to that, the general railroad law, which was approved February 24th, 1853, the first of its kind in the state, which appears in our statutes substantially unchanged today, was passed largely by his unceasing effort, in almost the exact form in which he had originally drawn it, so that he can truly be called one of the authors of that legislation which has contributed more than any other cause to the present material greatness of this commonwealth.

On the 12th of December, 1855, an "act to provide for the organization, support and government of common schools in the State of Missouri," passed both houses. Senator Grover had worked unceasingly on this statute over three years. This measure is also in almost the exact form in which he had originally drawn it, and it, too, was the foundation upon which

the superstructure of the present great public school system of Missouri is laid. As before stated, to Senator Grover belongs the honor of the parentage of that wise law. He was ever an enthusiastic Mason. In the years 1851 and 1852 he was Grand Master of that order in the state, and in that capacity traveled all over it, speaking many times in each county. Subsequently, he devoted much time to building up the Masonic College at Lexington, Mo.

At the close of his term in the Senate in 1856 he was elected one of the Directors of the Pacific Railroad, and held that office until his death in 1861. He devoted his entire time from 1856 to 1860 to the construction of the Pacific Railroad west of Jefferson City, and secured the location of the present main line through California, Tipton, Sedalia, Warrensburg and Pleasant Hill to Kansas City. For this, his grateful friends at Warrensburg presented him with a beautiful silver pitcher.

In company with his friend Brinkley Hornsby he voted viva voce for John C. Fremont for President, at Warrensburg, in 1856. This he did, because his friend Hornsby had been threatened with violence if he so voted. In 1860 he took an active part in the campaign of that year, especially in behalf of his friend, Aikman Welch, afterwards Attorney General of Missouri, who was in that year elected, on the Union ticket, as a delegate from Johnson county to the State Constitutional Convention. At that time two young men, then about twenty-three and twenty-four years of age, Marsh and Emory S. Foster, brothers, were conducting a weekly paper at Warrensburg, named the Warrensburg Missourian. These two young men were natives of Missouri, and were Douglas Democrats and ardent Union men. Their father, Rev. R. A. Foster, was a Methodist minister, and though a native of South Carolina, was also an active Union man.

Senator Grover in this campaign, worked and voted for John Bell, the Whig candidate for President. James McCown, the Circuit Clerk of that county, a West Virginian, was one of the leaders of the Secession party and a supporter of Brecken-

ridge. The issue was squarely made in this canvass between Union and Secession, and the Union men, Douglas Democrats, and Whigs elected Aikman Welch, as above stated, and also the county ticket. In this movement, Senator Grover and the Fosters were the leaders, and Marsh Foster defeated James McCown for County Clerk. On the afternoon of the election, Feb. 12th, 1861, Marsh Foster was assassinated at the polls, by James McCown and his son, William. They came up from behind and shot him.

After the murder of Foster the McCowns took refuge in the jail and were locked up there by their friends. The friends of Foster arose in overwhelming numbers, surrounded the jail for the express purpose of seizing and hanging the McCowns. Senator Grover, Emory S. Foster and George W. Houts, a prominent Whig, each addressed the crowd from the door steps of the jail and finally persuaded them to disband, and let the law take its course. A partisan grand jury soon afterwards failed to indict the McCowns and so they escaped. They soon afterwards entered the Confederate service and survived the civil war, but never returned to Warrensburg to live. Marsh Foster was a young man of extraordinary ability, and, had his life been spared, would have unquestionably risen to a high rank in the Union army, in which he would have soon enlisted. He was the first martyr to the Union cause in Missouri.

Later in the same month (February, 1861,) Senator Grover was elected sergeant-at-arms of the State Constitutional Convention and entered upon his duties in St. Louis. It was this convention which voted against secession by a decisive majority. Senator Grover had, however, long been known as one of the most active and earnest Union men in the state. While in attendance upon that convention, through his friend Col. (afterwards Gen.) Francis P. Blair, he formed the acquaintance of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, and was commissioned by that officer on March 5th, 1861, as Lientenatn-Colonel of the Johnson County Home Guards (the name then given to Missouri volunteers.)

He returned to Warrensburg early in April, 1861, to recruit this regiment, which was afterwards given its proper name, the 27th Mounted Infantry, Missouri Volunteers. The Secession leaders then offered a reward of five hundred dollars to any man who would kill him. Col. Grover's answer to this proceeding was characteristic of him. In company with his friend, James D. Eads, who was a Douglas Democrat, and who had served in the Mexican war, Col. Grover canvassed Johnson county and called for volunteers for the Union army. They spoke in every school district in the county, and the result was that on May 1st, 1861, Col. Grover took the field with a full regiment of ten companies, nine companies (A to I) recruited in Johnson, and one company (K) recruited in Pettis county. He was twice elected Colonel of the regiment, and twice declined it on account of his lack of military experience. Col. Jacob Knaus was the first Colonel of the regiment, and Col. James D. Eads, the second. Major Emory S. Foster was the first Major, and Major William Beck the second. Lieutenant Thomas W. Houts, a son of George W. Houts, was Quartermaster. Lieutenant John J. Welshans was Commissary. Rev. R. A. Foster, was Chaplain. Dr. Logan Clark, of Sedalia, was Surgeon. Dr. Hill, of Warrensburg, was Assistant Surgeon. George S. Grover was the first Adjutant, and Samuel K. Hall, the second. The ten companies, A to K inclusive, were commanded by Captains Maguire, Isaminger, M. U. Foster, Duncan, Applegate, McCluney, Cunningham, Iiams, Brown and Parker.

The regiment was mounted and, though armed with shotguns and revolvers, soon became well drilled and efficient soldiers. They were actively engaged in scouting the country between the Missouri and Osage rivers. Gen. Lyon arrived with his command at Boonville, Mo., early in June, 1861. Col Grover rode across the country, 75 miles alone, to report progress to Gen. Lyon. He served on Gen. Lyon's staff as a volunteer aid in the battle of Boonville, on June 17, 1861. He then returned to his command, again alone, and rode one horse the entire distance, in one day. Gen. Lyon then marched

south, Col. Grover again met him at Cole Camp and there received further instructions. That evening was spent by Col. Grover, by invitation, with Gen. Lyon, in the latter's tent. They discussed the situation all that night and talked until daylight appeared. They then separated, Gen. Lyon going south and Col. Grover going west to rejoin his regiment, and thus the two friends parted, never to meet again on earth.

On June 20th, 1861, Col. Grover marched his regiment to Lexington, Mo., to meet Col. Stifel, of St. Louis, who came up the Missouri river to that point, with a regiment from St. Louis. After receiving a supply of ammunition, and some muskets of an ancient pattern, Col. Grover returned to Warrensburg. On June 22d, 1861, at Atkinson's, 15 miles from Lexington, a Confederate force ambushed, in thick brush, on both sides of the road, suddenly opened fire on the 27th, then marching south by fours. Col. Grover instantly swung his men into line, charged and routed the enemy, and Captains Isaminger and Foster chased them 15 miles into the rough country on the Sni river, where they dispersed under the cover of night.

On July 4, 1861, the regiment was regularly mustered into the volunteer army of the United States as the 27th Mtd. Inf. Mo. Vols. It continued scouting until August 1st, 1861, when Col. Grover was ordered to move to Jefferson City and there report to Col. U. S. Grant, then commanding the post there. He collected his scattered command, a work of several days, and marched eastward, reaching Tipton August 18, and California August 19, 1861. He was joined at Sedalia by a company commanded by Captain William Beck; at Tipton by a company commanded by Captain Hopkins, and at California by a company commanded by Captain Rice. On August 20th, 1861, he took a train for Jefferson City, with 160 of his own regiment, together with Captains Beck, Hopkins and Rice, with their companies. The men were packed closely in open stock cars. Col. Grover rode on the engine. Major Foster, with two companies, was absent on a scout, so the remainder of

time will never efface. During that entire time he held over six thousand men, all fresh troops, in top condition, within fifty-five miles of Lexington, and refused to permit their commander, Col. Jefferson C. Davis, to march to the relief of his brave comrades, over almost perfect roads. If he had been permitted to do so, Col. Davis could and would have relieved Lexington inside of two days. He sent message after message to Gen. Fremont, in ample time, asking for marching orders, which were uniformly refused, presumably by some one of Gen. Fremont's numerous force of staff officers, very few of whom could speak English.

Col. Grover was buried with military honors, in St. Louis, on October 31, 1861. In 1883, his body was re-interred in the family lot at Warrensburg, Mo., where it now is. Col. Grover Post, No. 178, G. A. R., of Warrensburg, Mo., and Grover township, Johnson county, bear his honored name.

His devoted wife returned to Warrensburg at the close of the civil war and there raised the family of children hereinafter described. She was a woman of remarkable ability, force of character and attainments. On July 3d, 1901, she died at Warrensburg, Mo. She lived on the home place, where they settled in 1844, for nearly 57 years, and now rests beside her beloved husband, in the beautiful cemetery at Warrensburg. Their two oldest children, John and Courtland Cushing Grover, died in Warrensburg in 1845.

Their fourth son, Benjamin W. Grover, died in El Paso, Texas, in 1896, and is buried at Warrensburg. Their daughters, Mrs. Sallie L. Barret, and Misses Elizabeth and Martha Grover, live in the old home at Warrensburg. Their youngest son, Robert J. Grover, lives there with his sisters. The remaining daughter, Mrs. Annie Harris, lives near Eldorado, Kansas. The third son, George S. Grover, lives in St. Louis.

Mrs. Cora S. Grover, widow of Benjamin W. Grover, Jr., lives in Warrensburg, Mo. Her oldest son, John C. Grover, is principal of the High school in Gallatin, Daviess county, Missouri. Her second son, Benjamin W. Grover, is at Warrensburg with his mother. A granddaughter, Miss Annie G.

Harris, is a teacher in the El Dorado, Kansas, High school. A grandson, George M. Barret, is a mining engineer on the Pacific Slope.

In all the relations of life, Col. Grover was a model man and citizen. He was a loving and devoted husband and father, a true friend, a good neighbor and ever a public-spirited citizen. He was strictly temperate in his habits, and was frugal, industrious and self-denying to a remarkable degree. He was raised a Methodist, but never joined any church, although always a liberal contributor to all religious denominations. Mrs. Grover was a member of the Presbyterian church for over fifty years. Col. Grover was truly the representative Union soldier from Johnson county in the civil war, and as such, has passed into history. His name is entitled to enrollment also in civil life in the front rank of the great men of Missouri. It was not given to him to see the triumph of the good cause he so loved, nor to witness the greatness of the nation he died to save.

His beloved comrades of the 27th regiment, of which he was so justly proud, have nearly all rejoined him across the "shining river." Colonels Knaus and Eads, Major Foster, Captains Maguire, Isaminger, Duncan, Applegate, McCluney, Cunningham, Iiams, Brown and Parker, Lieuts. Box, Burnett, Pease, Welshans and Hall, Chaplain Foster, Doctors Clark and Hill are all with him in the "better land."

Of the thousand brave men who followed their beloved leader and that cherished flag in sunshine and in shadow to victory and defeat, less than one hundred remain on earth. The others are with him in heaven. Of them, as of him, it may well be said

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round,
The bivouac of the dead."

GEORGE S. GROVER.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY. (1)

We, the committee to whom was referred the subject of locating and marking important landmarks in the early history of Jefferson county, beg leave to report as follows:

In our reseaches, in connection with our duties, we find that we have let a great deal of history die with the old inhabitants, nearly all of whom have been called to their fathers, and we found it almost impossible, in many instances, to exactly locate points of interest, because those who had knowledge of them have died, leaving no information, or no information of a definite character, in regard to them. In these cases all we can do is to approximate the localities as nearly as practicable. We think the following points are of sufficient historical interest to justify steps being taken by this society to mark them so as to hand them down to those who may come after us:

1. The point where the first white man built a house and opened a farm in our county.
2. The points in each neighborhood where the first settlers built houses and opened farms.
3. The location of the first ferry across the Meramec.
4. The first road to be marked out and opened.
5. The locations of Indian raids and the points where the old settlers were killed by Indians.
6. The location of the first store, the first mill and the first postoffice.
7. The location of the first house erected for religious worship.
8. The location of the first school taught.

We take it for granted that it is desirable to mark or describe points of historic interest in the early settlement of our

*Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County, 1899.

county, to preserve them for future generations, and the only question that confronts us is what steps shall we take to mark or describe them. We can prepare and set stones at these points with suitable inscriptions thereon, or we can set stones, preserving among the archives of this society, descriptions of the points the stones are intended to commemorate, or we can make plats showing the points, with a history of them. It will probably be too expensive for us to undertake to set stones with inscriptions thereon, and the setting of stones with written descriptions will also cost more than we could conveniently raise, while the last plan above suggested may be carried out without any cost, as we can, no doubt, get the plats or maps made without money. These plats or maps should show the section, township, and range with the landmarks in the neighborhood of the point to be commemorated.

In time the society may be able to raise money to have a full map of the county with these old landmarks designated thereon, made and printed so that each member of the society would have a copy.

Points which should be commemorated:

So far as we are able to learn, John Hildebrand, of French descent, was the first white settler on Jefferson county soil. In 1774 he built a cabin and opened a clearing on the Meramec near the farm of the late Judge Isaac Sullens. Hildebrand went to that point under the auspices of the Spanish government and took up a homestead of — arpents which was afterwards confirmed by our government as United States survey No. —. The exact spot where he erected his cabin we have not been able to ascertain. Hildebrand lived in what was known as the "Meramec settlement."

It may interest you to know that Jefferson county was settled as early as Kentucky. The Hildebrand settlement was in the same year as the first settlement in Kentucky which was at that time Harrodsburg in 1774.

In 1778 Thomas Tyler was in possession of the Hildebrand farm, having eighty arpents (about 68 acres) in cultivation, forty acres of which were in corn and tobacco.

In 1776 the King of Spain, Charles III, in order to open a

way overland from St. Louis to Ste. Genevieve, offered 1,050 arpents of land to anyone who would establish and maintain a ferry across the Meramec. Jean Baptiste Gomache accepted the offer, established the ferry in that year and located the 1,050 arpents of land at the mouth of that river. The ferry was established about a mile above the mouth of the river and the place is still known as the "lower ferry." In the same year (1776) a trail, called the "King's trace," was opened from St. Louis by way of the Gomache ferry and thence running near Kimmswick, Sulphur Springs, Pevely, Horine and Rockfort Hill, thence across the hills to the Plattin river, thence up that river to the Madison bridge and thence across the hills to Ste. Genevieve. There is a place where this trail crossed the Joachim creek near Horine, called "King's trace" to this day.

We have not been able to locate definitely the spot where Gomache built his house, but it was, no doubt, near the present residence of Col. C. A. Newcomb.

In 1779 there was quite a settlement of what it now Kimmswick. The first settler there was probably Thomas Jones. He manufactured salt at what are now called the Montesano springs in 1770. In 1786 Benito Vasquez, a Spaniard by birth, settled on the Meramec, his claim of 3,000 arpents including the mouth of Saline creek. He had a park and a large herd of cattle and he, too, manufactured salt, the trenches for the furnaces still existing there.

The Meramec and Kimmswick settlements have a general historic interest, aside from a local interest. They figured indirectly and remotely in our struggle for independence. In order to understand the relation of these settlements to that struggle it will be necessary to first note briefly their relation, at that time, to the rest of the world.

At the time of these settlements all the territory lying west of the Mississippi river belonged to Spain and all east of that river belonged to England.

Charles III was King of Spain, George III was King of England, Louis XVI was King of France, Don Alexander O'Riley was Captain and Governor General of

Upper and Lower Louisiana with headquarters at New Orleans, Francisco Cruzat was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana with headquarters at St. Louis, that village, at the time of the Hildebrand settlement, being only ten years old, and the revolutionary struggle which terminated in 1783 was first beginning to assume form. On February 6, 1778, France recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies and England thereupon waged war against her. On May 8, 1779, Spain declared war against England but refused to recognize the independence of the thirteen colonies. Thus after May 8, 1779, to 1783, England was at war with not only her North American colonies, but also with France and Spain. The French allies aided our armies in the East and Spain helped to drive the English forces from the West. Immediately upon the declaration of war by Spain the English authorities gave orders to her officers here to organize a land force of whites and Indians in the Northwest to descend the Mississippi river and capture all the Spanish posts on the west side of the river as far as Natchez and orders were also sent to General Campbell at Pensacola, Florida, to proceed with his fleet to ascend the Mississippi, capture New Orleans and proceed to Natchez to meet the land forces from the North. It should be noted at this point that Baton Rouge and Natchez were then in control of British garrisons.

Spain thwarted the English campaign program as above outlined by vigorous movements on her part. Governor Galvez, of New Orleans, organized and equipped a fleet and in a short time captured Manchac, Baton Rouge and Natchez, all the English garrisons on the Mississippi river, and then proceeded to Mobile and Pensacola, which places capitulated to the Spanish commander in February and May, 1780. Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, stationed at Miachilimacinac (now Mackinaw, Michigan), not knowing of the disasters to the British forces in the South, had, prior to February 17, 1780, organized a force of 1,500 Indians (mostly Sioux) and 140 English and Canadian traders for the expedition down the Mississippi to be commanded by a Sioux chief by the name of Wabasha. The Indians east and west of the river were in-

formed of this expedition and no doubt many joined it on its way down the river. Wabasha, with his forces, reached St. Louis May 26, 1780, but for some unaccountable reason the stockade there was not attacked, but citizens found outside were either killed or taken prisoners. The expedition crossed the Mississippi and made a similar raid on Cahoka and then returned to the North. Before St. Louis was reached, however, another expedition consisting of 720 Indians and whites under the command of Hesse was organized by Sinclair. Hesse was ordered to remain at St. Louis while Wabasha with his forces should take Ste. Genevieve. St. Louis was then called Paincourt, which being interpreted means "short bread," and Ste. Genevieve was called Misere which means "wretchedness." This recalls to our minds the fact that Carondelet was once called Vide Poche, which means "empty pocket." It will be observed that all these nicknames are French and the application of the soubriquets of "short bread" and "wretchedness" to the small trading posts of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve in 1780 reminds us forcibly of the privations and hardships of the settlers west of the father of waters.

As stated above the expedition under Wabasha returned north after a raid on St. Louis and Cahoka and the expedition under Hesse was abandoned. Why such an expedition accomplished so little and why it failed to try to accomplish much has been a mystery to the historians. At all events the Spanish forces in connection with the troops under Colonel James Rogers Clark on behalf of the colonies cleared the country of British and Indians from Pensacola around the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi and then up that river as far as Prairie du Chien. And this was a most important factor in our Revolutionary struggle, and when Cornwallis in October, 1781, surrendered to the allied Americans and French at Yorktown, the independence of the colonies was assured. It is a remarkable fact, however, that when it came to making a treaty of peace both France and Spain were opposed to making the Mississippi the western boundary of the United States,

thus showing that their interposition in our behalf was instigated by self-interest.

After the failure of Wabasha's expedition to St. Louis Indian stragglers from his command raided the Meramec settlement and the settlement at what is now Kimmswick and the settlers all fled to St. Louis for protection. Jean Baptiste Gomache also was compelled by the same Indians to flee from his home near the mouth of the Meramec. On the return of Wabasha north the danger passed away and the settlers on the Meramec and at Kimmswick returned. These settlements remained under Spanish rule more than twenty years after the Indian raid of 1780.

Another point of historic interest is where Peter Hildebrand settled and where he was killed by the Indians in 1784. He settled on a tract of land on the opposite side of Big river from what is now the Cedar Hill mill. In that year he was out hunting and was killed by the Indians a short distance below Cedar Hill mill, on the bank of the river, tradition giving as the exact spot the corner of Radecker's pasture fence. This Hildebrand built the first cabin and opened the first clearing in Big river valley in 1784, near where the houses on the tract of land opposite Cedar Hill mill now stand. This Hildebrand was the father of Abraham Hildebrand who was in 1835 one of the judges of the county court and is the ancestor of many of the Hildebrands now here.

The first grist mill operated within the borders of our county was erected by Francis Wideman about 1802 or 1803 on Big river, about three-quarters of a mile above the Morse mill. Some of the logs used in the dam are still to be seen there, though not a vestige of the mill is to be found. About the same time John Johnston operated a small horse mill at the place where the Douglass dwelling stands, about two miles west of Pevely, this mill was a very rude affair. It could crack corn, but it could scarcely be said that it could make meal.

The first town in the county was called New Hartford and it was laid out in 1806 by Christian Wilt and John W. Honey. The exact location of this town can not now be ascertained, but it was on the Mississippi river near where Riverside station is

The first store was opened in this town by Wilt and Honey. They also operated a shot tower. This shot tower must have been at the bluff just south of Riverside.

The first postoffice in the county was Herculaneum. That town was laid out in 1808 and soon afterward a postoffice was established there and it remained the only office for the county for nearly thirty years.

This naming of points of historic interest could be continued almost indefinitely, but we think this is enough for this year., We suggest that the committee on "Old Landmarks" be made permanent and that an auxiliary committee consisting of one member from each neighborhood in the county be raised to gather information relative to points of historic interest and report the same to the chairman of the main committee. We suggest also that a committee of three be raised to be called the "Committee on Biography" whose duty it shall be to write the lives of the early settlers to be kept among the archives of this society.

We hope that active work on these lines will be commenced at once for the "old settlers" are rapidly passing away and what they know either personally or by tradition should be reduced to writing at once, or it will be forever lost. All of which is respectfully submitted,

JOHN L. THOMAS,
R. G. MORGAN, Committee.

BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

LETTER OF GEN. F. SIGEL.

The State Historical Society has in its collection of manuscripts a letter written by Gen. Franz Sigel July 30, 1895, to Walter L. Howard, of Griffin, Christian county, Mo., which has never been published. It is as follows:

New York, July 30, 1895.

Walter L. Howard, Esqr.,
Griffin, Christian Co., Mo.

Dear Sir:

In answer to yours of July 25th saying that you wish to know "where I separated from the main army on the morning of the 10th?" also how many men were in my command, I wish to state that on the 9th of August before the movement against the enemy, encamped at Wilson's Creek, began, my brigade, consisting of the 3d Mo. and 5 Mo. Inf. and two batteries, of four pieces each, were encamped at Springfield, on the Yokermill or Joachim's mill road, in the southeastern part of the city; there and near by was also encamped the 1 Iowa Inf. Regt. (Col. Gates), while all other troops of the so-called "army of the West," under Gen. Nath. Lyon were encamped in the eastern part of the city, on the road to Little York.

On that day, Friday the 9 of August in the morning I received an order from Gen. Lyon to hold my command in readiness to march at a moment's notice directly from my camp, toward the south, to attack the enemy from the rear. This order was sent to me by my adjutant whom I had sent to him. I immediately went to Gen. Lyon who said that we would move in the evening, that the 1 Iowa should join the main column with him, while I was to take the Yokermill road, then turn toward the southwest and try to gain the enemy's rear; he would procure guides and some cavalry to assist me and let me

know the exact time when I should move. I then asked him, whether on the arrival of my troops near the enemy's position, I should attack immediately or wait until we were apprised of the beginning of the attack by the troops under his own command. He reflected a moment and then said, "wait until you hear the firing on our side." The conversation did not last longer than about ten minutes. Between 4 and 5 o'clock in the evening I received the order to move at 6:30 p. m. At the precise time stated we left camp and marched due south. Half an hour before that time, at 6 p. m., two companies of cavalry under Capt. Eugene A. Carr and Lieut. Charles E. Farrand joined us, also the guides. By order of Gen. Lyon I left two pieces of artillery and two companies in Springfield, so that my whole command now consisted of 8 comp's of the 3d Mo. Inf. 9 comp's of the 5 Mo. Inf. (total 912 men), 6 pieces of artillery (85 men) and the two comp's of cav. (121 men), in all 1118 men. I think I have now answered your questions "where I separated from the main army" and "how many men were in my command." As a matter of interest, which became fatal to us I would add, that the 1 Iowa was dresed in a grayish uniform. Resp. and truly yours,

F. SIGEL,
Late M. G.

P. S.—I remember that the principal guide who led the column from the Yokermill road and the byroad through the woods into the rear of the enemy's camp was a tall young man of about 25 to 30 years. We reached the neighborhood of the hostile camp about 12 p. m. on the 9th after having made a long detour.

When I visited the battlefield in 1887 (?) Col. Boyd of Springfield, was with me. I think we traced the line of retreat of our column pretty well.

NECROLOGY.

FERDINAND F. L. BOYLE.

Born in Ringwood, Hampshire, England, about 1819; came to this country when a child; became a member of the National Academy of Design in 1836, and in 1850 an associate of that institution; in 1855 came to St. Louis and organized the Western Academy of Art, in which city he executed paintings that have become historic. In the Civil War he was Colonel of the Fourth Missouri enrolled militia and in 1865 was mustered out as brevet brigadier general. In 1864 he was director of the fine arts at the great sanitary fair at St. Louis. He died of pneumonia in Brooklyn, N. Y., December 2, 1906.

HENRY C. BROKMEYER.

Mr. Brokmeyer was born August 12, 1826 near Minden, Prussia, and came to this country at the age of 18, and worked at different occupations of manual labor, though he graduated at several institutions, and was a man of brilliant intellect; he was a nephew of the "Iron Chancellor," Prince Otto Edward Leopold Von Bismarck.

In November, 1870, he was elected to the Missouri senate to the 26th general assembly, and re-elected to the 27th, and in 1876 was elected lieutenant governor. During his term of office he was for some time acting governor during the illness of Gov. Phelps. In 1884 he was an elector at large on the Cleveland ticket.

He delighted in the abstruse subjects of metaphysics and philosophy, and was a contributor to the Journal of Speculative Philosophy of which Wm. T. Harris was editor in St. Louis from 1867 to 1879. Much of his philosophical writings are still in manuscript and are in the Mercantile Library at St. Louis.

He died in St. Louis July 26, 1906.

THOMAS W. BRYANT.

Mr. Bryant was born at Standford, Kentucky, July 16, 1839, and came to Independence, Missouri, in 1850. He graduated from Bethany college in 1860, and became the editor of the Independence Sentinel. In 1867 he moved to Kansas City and went into the practice of law. In 1880 he was elected on the Democratic ticket to the state senate and served in the 31st general assembly, being re-elected to the 32d. He took a leading part in the legislation under which a part of the boulevard system of Kansas City was established; the act providing for the registration of voters at general elections; and other matters affecting local interests. He was appointed by Gov. Crittenden chairman of the committee to visit elemosynary institutions; and he was a delegate to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Soon after leaving the legislature he retired to private life, and died in Kansas City, July 24, 1906.

GEORGE W. FERRELL.

About 1853 at Boonville, Missouri, George W. Ferrell, newspaper man, poet, editor and magazine writer, was born, and died in the same town April 16, 1906, a short distance from the house in which he was born. He was educated in the public schools and Kemper's Military school in Boonville and in his early life was a devout member of the Presbyterian church and a Sunday school worker.

He learned the newspaper business under Milo Blair, of the Boonville Eagle, and before attaining his majority, went to Dakota, and edited a paper at the Black Hills. At twenty-one he returned to Boonville, and started the Boonville Topic, now the Democrat, and was for a long time the editor of the Advertiser. Some event made a change in his habits and for the last ten years of his life he roved from place to place in Central and Western Missouri, working on various newspapers. He was a polite and unassuming gentleman.

LORENZO DOW HICKS.

Senator in the Forty-third general assembly from the Fifteenth district, from which he was elected in 1904. He was born in Clark county, Ohio, February 21, 1829, where he was educated and married, and from which he came to Missouri in 1869. He was a prominent merchant in the town of Marshall, Saline county, where he held various offices. He died at the home of his son-in-law, E. H. Adams, in Lamar, Mo., June 17, 1905.

CARL SCHURZ.

At first thought many will doubt the correctness of placing the name of Carl Schurz among Missourians and yet from 1867 to 1875, he was nominally a resident of Missouri and from 1869 to 1875 he represented the state in the United States senate.

Born near Cologne, Prussia, March 2, 1829, he lived an adventurous life in his native and his adopted country, being at the early age of 19 a newspaper editor and a leader in the revolution of 1848. Upon the failure of the Revolution Schurz escaped to Switzerland, but Professor Kinkel, his fellow worker, was arrested and imprisoned in the citadel of Spandau. On the night of November 6, 1850, Schurz and students of the University at Bonn gained access to the professor's cell, lowered him to the ground, and he and Schurz succeeded in escaping to England.

After residing awhile in London and Paris he came in 1852 to the United States; in 1855 he settled in Wisconsin, where he was heartily welcomed by the German population. He was a close student of politics, and as early as during the Lincoln-Douglas campaign of 1858 was an effective and powerful speaker not only in the German language, but also in the English which he had very thoroughly mastered. President Lincoln in 1861 made him minister to Spain but he returned in 1862 and was made a brigadier general in the union army, and held command under Franz Sigel, his old commander of Prussian revolutionary days; he took part in the battles of Chancellorsville, Gettysburg and Chattanooga.

In 1867 he came to St. Louis to become editor of the Westliche Post, and two years after was honored with the highest office to which a foreign born citizen could aspire, that of United States senator.

Under President Hayes he became secretary of the interior, and afterwards editor of the New York Evening Post, from which he retired in 1884. In his later years he was one of the founders and most active workers of the Civil Service Reform association, in the cause of which he wrote many articles and reports. Other publications by him are biographies of Henry Clay (1887) and Abraham Lincoln (1891). He died in New York May 14, 1906, and during his seventy-seven years played active parts as revolutionist, editor, correspondent, lawyer, party leader, soldier and statesman.

REV. SAMUEL HOWARD FORD, L. L. D.

Dr. Ford was born in London, England, February 19, 1819, but came to this country when a child. His father, Rev. Thomas Howard Ford, was one of the pioneer preachers of Central Missouri, the home being near Columbia, where both the father and mother died when Samuel was a boy. He was licensed to preach in 1840, and ordained in 1843, in Little Bonne Femme church in Boone county.

He became pastor of the church at Jefferson City, North church, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, East church, Louisville, Central Baptist church, Memphis, Fee Fee near St. Louis, and Park avenue, St. Louis. He was seven years at Memphis increasing the membership from 75 to 450 and erecting a church building at a cost of $75,000.

In 1853 he began editorial work and was editorially conconnected with the Western Recorder and the Missouri Baptist and the same year began the publication of Ford's Christian Repository, which during or after the Civil War was moved from Louisville to St. Louis, and is still published at the latter place.

He was the author of a number of books. The State Historical Society library contains his "Brief Baptist History;"

"Complete Ecclesiastical History," and "What Baptists Baptize For." "The Great Pyramids of Egypt" and "Historic Mile Stones" were other works by him.

His wife, Sallie Rochester Ford, was engaged with him in his editorial work and was the authoress of five books.

Dr. Ford died in St. Louis July 5, 1905.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SWITZLER.

The State Historical Society has lost its first Honorary Member, Col. Wm. F. Switzler, one of its founders and its earnest supporter. He was called the "Historian of Missouri," and the "Nestor of the Missouri Press," and during a long and eventful life was a devoted friend of the state in which nearly all of his life was passed and which has never been criticised for any act ever done by him.

Born in Fayette county, Kentucky, March 16, 1819, he came to Fayette county, Missouri, in 1826, and spent his early years in that county. He studied law under Judge Abiel Leonard and James S. Rollins, and was admitted to the bar, but in 1841 became the editor of the Columbia Patriot, the successor of the "Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser," which was started in the now extinct town of Franklin in 1819, the year of his birth. The library of the Society has an evidence of his habit of preserving objects of interest in connection with this paper. In 1841 he published in it an editorial on a veto message of President Tyler and lately gave the Society the original manuscript of this editorial, which is now shown in the bound volume of the Patriot by the side of the printed editorial. In 1843 he began the publication of the Columbia Statesman, and the complete file of that paper from its foundation to the present, found in the library of the Society, contains much of his intellectual work during the forty-two years of which he was its editor.

Before the Civil War he was a member of the Whig party, and was three times elected by it a member of the House of

Representatives in Missouri in 1846, 1848 and 1856, and was a delegate to the National Convention in Baltimore in 1860. During the war he was a strong union man, and afterwards a member of the Democratic party, and its candidate in 1866 and 1868 for the National House of Representatives. In each case he contested the seat with his opponent, but without success.

He was one of the few men who were members of both the constitutional conventions of 1865 and 1875, and in 1885 was made Chief of the Bureau of Statistics by President Cleveland.

He was sixty-three years a member of the Presbyterian church in Columbia, and an active member in church work. In practice throughout his whole life he was a teetotlar, and an active worker in temperance conventions. He was too, prominent in all movements for civic virtue and for local improvements.

His *History of Missouri*, *History of Boone County*, and *History of the University of Missouri* are his principal literary works, the latter not yet published.

JUDGE JOHN EDWIN RYLAND.

Judge John E. Ryland was born in Fayette, Howard county, Missouri, July 8, 1830, son of John F. Ryland, who came from Virginia in 1819, and to Lexington, Missouri, in 1831, and was at one time a member of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

The son graduated at the old Masonic college in Lexington in 1852, and afterwards taught in that college and in Kansas City, and for many years practiced law at Lexington.

In 1880 he was elected judge of the criminal court of the Fifteenth judicial circuit and continued in that office for 18 years. He held various other offices in the county and city. and was an active worker in the Democratic party, being an elector in 1876. In the state militia he held the rank of major.

He died at Lexington December 15, 1905, and his funeral was conducted by the Masons of which order he had been a

member since 1852. As a judge he commanded the respect of the attorneys, and the fear of all guilty defendants brought into his court.

REV. DR. MEADE C. WILLIAMS.

Born at Indianapolis, Indiana. Graduated from Miami University, Ohio, and Princeton Theological Seminary. He was associate editor of the Herald and Presbyter, of St. Louis, and was the author of a half dozen or more publications. He was spending his eighteenth year at Mackinac Island and suddenly died there, August 22, 1906, aged about 70 years.

JOHN D. YOUNG.

Senator in the Forty-third general assembly from the Twenty-second district, was born on a farm near Houston, Texas county, Missouri, January 7, 1854. He graduated from the law department of the State University, was prosecuting attorney of his home county, a member of the House in the Thirty-eighth general assembly, and elected to the senate in 1902. He died in 1906.

NOTES.

Alabama is making extensive additions to its capitol building, and is providing considerable space for its Department of History and Archives. Mr. Thomas M. Owen is at the head of the department, and one of the most active historical workers in the country.

The legislature of Iowa furnishes funds for the State Historical Society of Iowa to republish in octavo volumes the messages and proclamations of the Governors of Iowa. The seventh volume covers the period 1894-1902.

The legislature of Kentucky has made the Kentucky State Historical Society an official one, and the first appropriation made for it is one of $5,000 per year. It publishes the Register a quarterly historical magazine of which Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, the secretary, is editor.

The Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis, has made its series of "Collections" a quarterly publication, and the number issued in December was given as Vol. II, No. 6. It is filled with interesting and valuable articles, relating mainly to St. Louis.

At the annual meeting of the Missouri State Teachers' Association, the Department of History voted to adopt the Missouri Historical Review as its official organ. There will be, accordingly, beginning with this number, a section of the Review devoted to the interests of the teachers of history and edited by a representative of the department. The Historical Society feels that this alliance with the teachers will go far toward the realization of one of the chief purposes of the Review—the stimulation of an intelligent interest in the history of the West and of Missouri.

The Missouri Folk-Lore Society was organized with forty-two members at a meeting held in Columbia Dec. 14 and 15. Dr. McGee, of the St. Louis Public Museum delivered the inaugural

address on the evening of the 14th, upon "The Relations Between Folk-Lore and General Anthropology." On the 15th the constitution was adopted. It provides among other things for a policy of co-operation with other organizations in the state that have kindred interests. Organic connection with the American Folk-Lore Society, which had been proposed, was not incorporated in the constitution, though the Society will be in effect an active auxiliary of the national society. Thirty-one of the members are also members of the American Folk-Lore Society.

After the framing and adoption of the constitution, a meeting was held in the rooms of the State Historical Library for the reading of the few papers which had been prepared. Miss Dalton, of the Missouri Historical Society, read a paper on "Some Songs and Games." Other papers were omitted for lack of time. The session closed with the election of officers as follows: President, Dr. McGee, of St. Louis; Vice Presidents, Miss Mary A. Owen, of St. Joseph, and Hon. C. W. Clarke, of Kansas City; Secretary, Prof. H. M. Belden, of Columbia; Treasurer, Miss Mary Louise Dalton, of St. Louis; Directors, Prof. Raymond Weeks, of Columbia, Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, of St. Louis, and Mr. Brady Harris, of West Plains.

A collection of ballads made by the Society is now being published in the Journal of American Folk-Lore under the title of "Old Country Ballads in Missouri."

As an adjunct member of the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, Dr. Jonas Viles, of the State University, is examining the State Archives at Jefferson City. The report of the investigation will be published by the Commission. A similar work has been undertaken in many of the states with the two-fold purpose of compiling catalogs or guides for historical investigators, and of stimulating an interest in the preservation and arrangement of the records.

A war time photograph of Col. Benjamin K. Grover, a sketch of whose life is in this number of the Review, has been deposited with the Loyal Legion in St. Louis.

Thomas Hart Benton. BY THEORDORE ROOSEVELT (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1886, pp. vi. 372.)

The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. BY WILLIAM M. MEIGS. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1904, pp. 535.)

Thomas H. Benton. BY JOSEPH H. ROGERS. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1905, pp. 361.)

Two Americans who are coming into their own with historians and the people are the old time associates, Jackson and Benton. We are promised at last a definite edition of Jackson's writings and may hope for an adequate biography. Of Benton there have appeared three lives, two of recent date. Roosevelt's *Benton* in the American Statesman Series, deals mainly with Benton's public life at Washington. Although there is much in Benton's environment and personality which the author does not understand or have patience with, and although the book is slightly marred by haste and over emphasis, it remains the best estimate of Benton as a statesman. Mr. Meigs' *Life* is of the better type of journalistic biography—readable, containing much on Benton's early life and career in Missouri hitherto unaccessible, and thoroughly sympathetic. The vigorous and rugged personality of the man is well portrayed. Unfortunately the author lacks the critical faculty and does not weigh his evidence sufficiently, and is somewhat blinded with his admiration for his hero. It remains, nevertheless, the most satisfactory biography for the general reader. Mr. Rogers' work has the same faults and much fewer virtues. It is distinctly disappointing after the the author's really excellent *The Real Henry Clay.*

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

At a well attended session of the History section of the State Teachers' Association held at Moberly, Dec. 26th and 27th, a resolution was unanimously passed adopting the new Missouri Historical Review, published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, as the official organ of the associated history teachers of the state. Professor Eugene Fair, of the Kirksville Normal school, was elected as the editorial representative from the section and all contributions for this portion of the Review should be sent to him. The editors of the Review are very desirous of enlisting the support of every history teacher in the state on behalf of the Missouri Historical Review and of making them feel that it is worth their while to become members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The payment of one dollar to Mr. F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo., will entitle one to the Review for one year and to membership in the Historical Society and it is sincerely hoped that all history teachers will avail themselves of this offer.

Among the subjects discussed by the History teachers at the recent meeting at Moberly none was of more immediate importance than the paper by Superintendent M. A. O'Rear, of Boonville, Mo., on "History in the Grades." In this excellent paper Mr. O'Rear made a convincing plea for a better and broader organization of the history work in our elementary schools by beginning lower down in the scale and correlating history study with the development of the child's mind until the sixth, seventh and eighth grades elementary text-book work could be done, first in English History and then in American History. To show that this was not all theory Mr. O'Rear told of his successful experiments in the Booneville elementary

schools along these lines. This paper would have been a valuable one for the general association to have heard. There was, in fact, a very general feeling among the history teachers present at Moberly that the History Department of the Association should be accorded some representation on the general programme of the meeting and the subject of history be given more recognition by educators in Missouri as compared with languages and science.

The resolution passed at the second session of the Department's meeting at Moberly favoring semi-annual meetings of the Missouri teachers of history and providing for a committee of arrangement was a very important step forward in organization. The committee hopes to arrange for a gathering of history teachers at Columbia this spring and ultimately to arrange with the State Historical Society for joint meetings in the spring or fall, thus bringing together the students of Missouri history and the teachers of history of the state. The number of specialists teaching history is increasing each year, and the Moberly meeting showed clearly that there is good material for a society of history teachers. If affiliation is maintained, as it always ought to be, with the State Teachers' Association, and a new affiliation made with the State Historical Society the influence exercised by the history teachers of the state will be a wide one indeed.

One very pleasing feature of the sessions at Moberly was the good representation from all parts of the state and from all classes of institutions, and the harmony that prevailed among these different institutions. The University of Missouri and Washington University were both represented at the History meetings by two or more teachers, the Kirksville, Warrensburg and Maryville normals had excellent representation, and there were many high school teachers and superintendents present at the meetings. The papers read were all of a high order, and brought forth many valuable points for discussion by those present. No one could fail to benefit by being present at the two sessions of the History section.

It will be the purpose of those in charge of this portion of the Missouri Historical Review to present matter that is of interest and importance to teachers of history in the state. Short articles in regard to history teaching, reports of meetings of historical societies, news from the history departments of different institutions, notices of new text-books and reference books in history, and brief bibliographical contributions will be among the principal attractions offered in this section of the Review. It is hoped that teachers who have matters of interest to communicate will send contributions to their editorial representative, Professor Fair.

REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION FOR 1906.

It is the custom of the State Teachers' Association to hold its annual meetings at Christmas time and to vary the place of meeting from year to year. The meeting for 1906, therefore, was held in the hospitable little city of Moberly, in Randolph county, December 27th-29th. The general atendance while not large was thoroughly representative of what is educationally best in the state, and every one present was enthusiastic in regard to the success of the meeting. The History Department of the Asociation has especial cause for pride in that its meetings were better attended than ever before, the interest shown in its proceedings was very great, and the work accomplished for history teaching very important.

The members of the history section gathered for the first session in Room 4 of the Moberly High School, at two o'clock Thursday afternoon, December 27th. The proceedings were opened by an address from the chairman, Professor N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri, on the subject of "Past and Present Methods in the Teaching of History." In this address, after sketching the progress of history teaching in the United States during the nineteenth century and especially during the last twenty-five years, the speaker proceeded to point out how the teaching of history had improved in regard to the scope of the course of study and the time given to the subject, in regard to the character of the text-books, reference books, including sources, maps and other aids to proper history teaching, and finally in regard to the character and training of teachers and the methods used in imparting a knowledge of history to students. At the same time, while great advances have been made, teachers must guard against

the danger of being superficial in their work, and relying too much on machinery in their teaching of the different subjects of the history course. The speaker, in taking up special methods, advocated a discussion method in class work in which both pupils and teacher contribute to the topic for the day, this method being preferable to the old style recitation by the pupils alone or the lecture method which is unsuited for high school work. Sources were recommended as illustrative material to supplement the text-book account, but the so-called source method was unfavorably commented on.

After the Chairman's address the regular programme was taken up and a series of papers read on the course of study in history in the various classes of schools. Superintendent O'Rear of Boonville gave a very interesting exposition of what he considered the history work of the grades should consist of, and made a strong plea for broader work in history in our elementary schools, as will be seen in another part of this department of the Review. In the absence of Superintendent Wylie of Chillicothe, who was to have read the paper on the "High School Course of Study", the Chairman introduced the subject of the high school course and invited a short discussion from members. Various aspects of high school work in history were then discussed by Mr. Baker of Joplin, Mr. Myers of Princeton (Mo.), and Miss Anna Gilday of the Manual Training High School, who declared himself in favor of a broad system of correlated courses in History, Civics, and Economics. The third paper was by Professor Jesse Lewis of the Maryville Normal School on the "Course of Study in History in Normal Schools", in which it was pointed out that the scope of Normal School work in history was necessarily limited on account of the demands of other subjects, and that probably the most satisfactory course would be one embracing a general survey of Ancient History and Mediaeval and Modern History, supplemented by special courses in English and American History, and professional work. As the last contribution on the course of study Professor Rullkoetter, of Drury College delivered an address on

the "College Course of Study in History", laying emphasis on the value of Mediaeval History as the basic college course and on the culture ideals in connection with history teaching in colleges. When this address was over the whole question of the course of study was thrown open for general discussion, and lively interest was shown in the points that had been raised. In addition to the Chairman and the readers of the papers, this discussion was participated in by Mr. Gromer, University of Missouri, Mr. Jones, Kirksville, Mr. S. F. Browne, Washington University, St. Louis, and Mr. Brown, Shelbyville.

At the second session, held at the same place as the first, on Friday afternoon, December 28th, a business meeting of the department preceded the programme. After hearing the minutes of the last annual meeting read, reports from committees were called for by the Chairman and Mr. Eugene Fair on behalf of the Committe on the Relations of the Department to the State Historical Society, and its organ, the **Missouri Historical Review**, reported in favor of the Department adopting the **Review** as its official organ. This was carried unanimously by the meeting. Miss Anna C. Gilday then reported on behalf of a special committee on future organization and meetings of the department in favor of semi-annual instead of annual meetings. After considerable discussion as to the time and place of the second meeting, it being understood that the Department would always meet once each year with the State Teachers' Association, it was decided to leave the question of time and place to a committee of three to be appointed by the Chairman, he himself to be one of the three. The members seemed strongly in favor of a second meeting, and a suggestion by Mr. J. T. Vaughn of Kirksville that a meeting be arranged each year in conjunction with the State Historical Society was favorably received. There being no further special business the election of officers for 1907 took place as follows: Chairman, Professor E. M. Violette of Kirksville; Secretary, Miss Anna C. Gilday of Kansas City; Department Editor on the Missouri Historical

Review, Mr. Eugene Fair of Kirksville; Representative to the Educational Council, three year term, Professor N. M. Trenholm of the University of Missouri.

At the close of the business meeting an interesting and profitable Round Table Conference was held which was opened by a paper from Mr. E. V. Vaughn of the University of Missouri on "Library Work in Connection with History in High Schools". A lively general discussion ensued in the course of which several good plans for school library management came to light. There was also considerable discussion as to the use and value of historical fiction in the study of history, but all present were seemingly agreed that valuable as fiction might be for purposes of inspiring interest and arousing enthusiasm for historical study, it could not occupy any really serious place as a part of the student's work in history. The above discussions were participated in by many of the leading history teachers in the state who were present at this session, and furnished valuable suggestions as to library methods in history work; those who contributed especially to the discussion were Professor J. T. Vaughn of Kirksville, Professor Demand of Warrensburg, Professor Lewis of Maryville, Professor Fair of Kirksville, Miss Gilday of Kansas City, Mr. Gromer of the University of Missouri, Mrs. McLaughlin of Kansas City, Mr. Jones of Kirksville, Messrs. Scott and Harmon of Marshall, Miss Milam of Macon, and the Chairman, who summed up the discussion.

At the close of the sessions it seemed to be the general opinion of all present that the History Department had had an extraordinarily good meeting, and that it promised well for the future. At each of the sessions there was a maximum attendance of over forty members, all of whom showed great interest in the proceedings. The retiring officers feel gratified at the support they received at the hands of their fellow history teachers and wish to their successors an even more successful year.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Chairman,
EUGENE FAIR, Secretary.

A BRIEF ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF REFERENCE BOOKS FOR HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY.

Part I. .Ancient History.

Abbott, Pericles, "Heroes of the Nations", Putnams.....1.50
An excellent popular biography on the great Athenian statesman.

Botsford, A History of the Orient and Greece, Macmillan
.... 1.20

———, A History of Rome, Macmillan, ... 1.10

———, The Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans Tell It, Macmillan ..... .90
Two excellent short histories and a useful source-book.

Bury, a History of Greece, Macmillan..... 1.75
The standard one volume history of Greece. Of special value to teachers and advanced pupils.

Church, Stories of the East from Herodotus, Dodd, Mead
....1.00
Interesting illustrative material from the first great historian.

Epochs of Ancient History, edited by Cox and Sankey, 10 vols., Longmans, Green, ... 10.00
A good small reference library consisting of Cox, "Greeks and Persians," and "Athenian Empire;" Sankey, "Spartan and Theban Supremacy;" Curteis, "Macedonian Empire;" Ihne, "Early Rome to its Capture by the Gauls;" Smith, "Rome and Carthage, the Punic Wars;" Beesly, "Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla;" Merivale, "Roman Triumvirates;" Capes, "Roman Empire (Early)," and "Roman Empire (Age of the Antonines).

Fling, European History Studies, vol. I, "Ancient Period", Ainsworth .... .50
A well selected series of source extracts for Greek and Roman History.

Fowler, Caesar, "Heroes of the Nations," Putnams.... 1.00
A good clear account of the career of the founder of the Empire.

Gayley, Classic Myths, Ginn & Co., ... 1.50
A very interesting and readable treatment of the legendary and mythological aspect of Greek and Roman times.

Goodspeed, History of the Babylonians and Assyrians, Scribners, ... 1.25
A valuable short history for the Oriental period of Ancient History.

Granrud, Roman Constitutional History, Allyn and Bacon, ... 1.25
Gives much useful information in a clear way about Roman government.

Gulick, The Life of the Ancient Greeks, Appleton, ... 1.40
Treats in a clear and scholarly way of Greek society and customs.

How and Legh, History of Rome to the Death of Caesar, Longmans, Green, ... 2.00
Among the best one volume histories of the Roman period.

Mahaffy, Story of Alexander's Empire, "Nations", Putnams, ... 1.50

———, Old Greek Life, "History Primers", American Book Co., ... 1.50
Two popular and usable reference books by an important writer.

Maspero, Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria, Putnams, .. 1.50
One of the best short accounts of Oriental civilization.

Morey, Outlines of Greek History, Amer. Book Co., ... 1.00

———, Outlines of Roman History. Amer. Book Co., ... 1.00
Two very servicable little histories for collateral reading.

Munro, A Source Book of Roman History, Heath & Co., .. 1.00
An intereseting selection of the best and most usable sources.

Murray, Small Classical Atlas for Schools, Clarendon Press, N. Y. 1.50
An excellent reference atlas for ancient history and geography.

Oman, History of Greece, Longmans, Green 1.50

———, Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic, Longmans, Green 1.60
Oman's "Greece" is well known as a valuable reference book. His account of the leading Roman statesmen is a new book which should find a welcome.

Pelham, Outlines of Roman History to 476 A. D., ... Putnams, ... 1.75
This is undoubtedly the best one volume history of Rome.

Plutarch, Lives of Noble Greeks and Romans, translated by Stewart and Long, 4 vols., Macmillan 4.00
Though sometimes inaccurate Plutarch's famous "Lives" are always worth reading and study as important sources.

Seignobos, History of Ancient Civilization, trans. by A. H. Wilde, Scribners..... 1.25

The best general account of ancient civilization and culture well translated into English from French.

Tarbell, History of Greek Art, Macmillan, ... 1.00

The most useful brief account of the art of Greece.

Tozer, Classical Geography, "History Primers", Amer. Book Co. .... .35

Wendel, History of Egypt, "History Primers", Amer. Book Co. 35

Two serviceable little books.

Wheeler, Alexander the Great, "Heroes of the Nations", Putnams, ... 1.50

An inspiring account of the great general and conqueror and his work.

(To be continued for the Mediaeval and Modern Period in the next number of the Review.)

NOTES AND NEWS OF INTEREST TO HISTORY TEACHERS.

This year has seen a number of changes and additions to the teaching staffs of the various departments of history in the state institutions. At the University of Missouri Dr. Jonas Viles has been promoted to the chair of American History, being the first full professor in that subject to be appointed. Mr. C. C. Eckhardt, instructor in European History, is on leave of absence for one year and is studying for the Ph. D. degree in modern history at Cornell University, where he holds a scholarship. Mr. Eckhardt will be back for the session of 1907-8, but at present his place is being very satisfactorily filled by Dr. C. C. Crawford from the University of Wisconsin. Mr. S. D. Gromer, formerly of the Stanberry Normal School but more recently a graduate student at Harvard and Columbia, is filling the position of instructor in History and Economics. At the Kirksville Normal School Professor E. M. Violette is on leave of absence and holds a scholarship in the Harvard Graduate School. His position is being filled by Professor Fair, who is acting head of the department, while Mr. Pooley, from the University of Wisconsin, is handling the courses in English and European History formerly given by Professor Violette. At the Maryville Normal School Professor Jesse Lewis is organizing the work of the History Department in a thorough and efficient manner. The history appointee at the Springfield Normal has seemingly not been announced as yet. In the high schools in the state there has been a growing tendency to appoint only specialists in history to history positions, and in consequence the caliber of history teachers in high schools is steadily improving.

The following new high school texts in history and reference works have been recently published—Harding, Essentials

in Midiaeval and Modern History, American Book Co.; Myers, General History, Revised Edition, Ginn & Co.; Morey, Outlines of Ancient History, American Book Co.; and Seignobos, History of Ancient Civilization, (trans. from the French by A. H. Wilde), Scribners; short reviews of Harding, of Morey and of Seignobos, will appear in the next number ow the Review.

Professor N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri has accepted an invitation to give the Mediaeval History course in the Summer School of Harvard University. As the work at Harvard will not begin until well into July it is probable that Professor Trenholme will teach during a part of the Summer Session at Columbia, giving advanced work in European History.

Missouri was represented at the meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Economic Association, at Providence, R. I., by Mr. F. A. Sampson of the State Historical Society, Professor Isidor Loeb of the Department of Political Science, University of Missouri, and Mr. C C. Eckhardt of the Department of History, University of Missouri, now on leave of absence at Cornell. The attendance at the meetings was large and representative and a most interesting programme of papers and discussions was carried through. The three great associations will meet next Christmas at Madison, Wis., under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin, and as many Missouri teachers of history as can should attend that meeting.

Courses of Extension Lectures in History are being conducted by the History Department of the University of Missouri as follows: At Kansas City, courses on "The Age of the Renaissance" and on the "History of Western Europe"; at Joplin and Webb City, a course on "England During the Modern Age". The interest shown at all three places is excellent and the attendance good. The courses are being given by Professor Trenholme.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 2.

Your committee on "Old Landmarks" begs leave to make the following report:

T. S. Byrd, our efficient secretary, in a letter to the committee says:

"Uncle Mitch" thinks that the first cabin on the Plattin was built by his grandfather in 1802 on the old Byrd tract, Spanish survey 1245. The exact spot is in the field about 80 yards from the Plattin's bank opposite from my father's old house. "Uncle Mitch" says his grandfather's nearest neighbor on the one hand was at Bailey Station, about 8

* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County, 1900, prepared by Judge John L. Thomas.

the other. A steel sword with blade two feet long was found in one of the graves, which the whites used to cut corn after it was found.

Across Big river from Barrows place and about a quarter of a mile from the river is a mound about fifteen feet across and ten feet high, made entirely of moory rock without mortar and without opening on top or sides.

At the mouth of the Mineral Fork of Big River there is a plat of ground known as the "boat yard" which took its name from the fact that a boat was loaded there with lead in very early times, and in its voyage down the river it was capsized and the cargo was lost and a negro lost his life, and that ended the navigation of Big River, as far as the lead trade was concerned.

The "boat yard" is filled with pieces of pottery, mussel shells and burnt corn cobs, indicating that a pot and pipe factory existed there once. The burnt corn cobs were found several feet beneath the surface. There is a mound in this yard, fifteen feet across and eight feet high, made entirely of dirt and is solid. Chunks of lead ore, round as croquet balls and from three to six inches in diameter, were also found but they were subsequently smelted into lead. Mr. Hearst had no idea what these were used for.

About a quarter of a mile north of Mineral Fork was found a likeness of a squaw in the face of a cliff. The likeness was about eight inches long and there were some hieroglyphics over it. Prof. Collet cut this figure out of the rocks about fifteen years ago and it is now in the St. Louis museum.

There is an Indian graveyard in the bottom about two hundred yards from Big river on the east half of the northeast quarter of section 4, township 40, range 3 east, now owned by John S. McKay. Human bones were found in this graveyard and they had been buried so shallow that the bones were uncovered by the plow in ordinary cultivation for corn. Two large earthen pots or jugs which would hold a gallon or more each were also uncovered, but upon being exposed to the air a short time they crumbled to pieces.

Mr. W. S. Jewett says that there is a large Indian mound

where Stephen Hug built his house near Plattin Rock, and another in Hug's garden. In the latter were found a large quantity of Indian pottery, some of which were very large, similar to an old-fashioned gas retort. An old colored man in making an excavation in this mound to make a hotbed for Mrs. John S. Deadrick, broke most of the pottery, supposing it to be of no consequence. "In the river bank," says Mr. Jewett, "just below the Plattin Rock, there was quite a deposit of small pieces of Indian pottery, as if there had been a factory or kiln at this place, charcoal being interspersed among the broken pottery."

In digging a cellar for the Crystal Boarding house, they found several pieces of pottery, but below the Indian pottery, some several feet below the surface, they found human remains; and in a skull found there was a small hole, and in cleaning away the dirt a leaden bullet was discovered in the skull.

The First Protestant Religious Services in the County.

Rev. W. S. Woodward, in an article written for the DeSoto Epworth League, October, 1898, said: "There was a large rock in the river near the mouth of the Joachim creek to which John Clark, a local Methodist preacher living in Illinois, came in 1798, possibly in October, on which he stood, and from which as a pulpit he preached the first Protestant sermon ever proclaimed and heard on the sunset side of 'The Father of Waters.'" Mr. W. S. Jewett, being asked to locate precisely this rock, informed the committee that it must have been what was known in early times as Bates' Rock, about one-half mile below the mouth of the Joachim. Mr. Jewett, in his letter, says: "It (Bates' Rock) is a suitable place to accommodate a large gathering, the rock at low water extending a considerable distance out into the river (say 100 feet) and several hundred feet along the shore, and being always kept clean of mud and drift by the strong currents of that place. There are also many large and smaller rocks fallen from the high limestone bluffs that would make suitable pulpits and seats for a large congregation. This place is convenient to Herculaneum, and

ran where the present road runs by W. P. Brent's, the old Dr. Minor place to the old Skeel place, except that it kept the main ridge. From the old Skeel place it ran along the ridge dividing the waters of the Joachim and Plattin by James Reed's place in section 34, township 40, range 5, and thence through sections 3, 4, 9, 17 and 18, township 39, range 5, crossing the Joachim creek near the residence of Judge T. J. Donnell in section 24, township 39, range 4, and thence southwest through sections 25 and 35, township 39, range 4, by the Gum Spring on the Wilkinson place, and thence through the southern portion of sections 34, 33 and 32, township 39, range 4, crossing Big River at the old Blackwell ford, and from there on to Potosi or Mine a Burton. Another road, leading from Rush Tower to this Blackwell ford and went by Cole's mill and Vinegar Hill, and there was a road from Selma to the intersection of the Herculaneum road at or near the old Skeel place. I have marked the old King's Trace road and this Herculaneum road on the county map with black ink.

Old County Lines.

Hon. F. A. Rozier, in his history of the settlement of the Mississippi valley, said that this terrritory was laid off into five districts—St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid—in 1769 by the Spanish government, and that the boundary line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts was the Meramec river, and that on October 1, 1804, Wm. H. Harrison, governor of the Indiana territory, to which the Louisiana Purchase was at first attached for governmental purposes, established the same five districts as they existed previously. Your committee has not been able to verify Mr. Rozier's statement by any authority whatever. As to the lines established in 1769 we are unable to give an opinion, but we are satisfied the Meramec was not the line between the districts of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve in 1804, for Benj. Johnson, who lived south of the Meramec in what it now Jefferson county, was one of the judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis district in 1804, and in 1806 the Court of Quarter Sessions of St. Louis district made

an assessment district of the territory lying between the Meramec and Plattin rivers. We infer from these and other orders of the Court that Plattin river was the line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts from 1804 to 1813. By an act of the Territorial Legislature of 1813 the lines between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve districts, through what is now Jefferson county, were defined thus: "Commence in the main channel of the Mississippi river opposite the upper line of a tract of land owned by August Choteau, which is about half way between the mouth of Plattin and Joachim rivers; thence running in a direct line to a point on the dividing ridge between those waters where Wright's road falls into the road leading from the town of Herculaneum to Mine a Burton thence along said road to a point thereon immediately opposite a noted spring, called the Dripping Springs, which is 200 yards south of the road; thence on a direct line to the mouth of the Mineral Fork of Grand River," etc.

The land owned by August Choteau is survey 160. We can not definitely ascertain what road was known in 1813 as Wright's road, but we believe it was along the old King's Trace route, and if the supposition be true the point where Wright's road fell into the Herculaneum road in 1813 was on the ridge where the deep cut is on the Crystal City railroad between Silica and Festus The Dripping Springs referred to in the Act of 1813 is on the north line of the east half of the southeast quarter of section 24, township 40, range 5 east, about halfway between the northeast and northwest corners thereof. We have marked this line between St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve counties, from the beginning to the western boundary of the county in red ink. It is evident the Legislature ran this line so as to put all the inhabitants of the Joachim and its tributaries in St. Louis county and all the inhabitants of the Plattin and its tributaries in Ste. Genevieve county. You will observe that the line ran just south of DeSoto, which is situated in survey 2008, and that in 1813 was the most southern settlement on the Joachim and was put in St. Louis county. Prior to the formation of Jefferson county in 1818 all deeds to lands south of the Plattin

were recorded in Ste. Genevieve county and all north of the Plattin in St. Louis county.

Conclusion.

We received a communication from Judge Kirk, accompanied with a history of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, of Rock township, prepared by Rev. Peter Weslech, the present pastor, and a history of the Immaculate Conception at Maxville, prepared by Rev. Father Schulte, but we have not incorporated these histories in this report for two reasons, viz: First—The churches were founded in 1843 and 1848, and at present we are dealing with landmarks at the beginning of this century; and, second—We do not deem landmarks that are preserved by records to be within the scope of our duty to locate, but deem it our duty to locate such landmarks only as can be located by men and women who knew them and of which there is no other written record anywhere. We return the histories of these churches to the society and recommend that they be read as a part of the history of the county and preserved among the archives. We ought to have prepared a large wall outline of Jefferson county with the streams and old Spanish grants laid out on it, upon which could be designated hereafter the old landmarks which the committee has already located or may hereafter locate, and this will take some money. In view of this we recommend that steps be taken to raise a fund to put the work of this committee in such a shape that it will be of some use to us and to those who come after us.

This report was kindly typewritten for us free of charge by Miss Adele Cheatham, under supervision of Prof. G. W. Moothart, president of DeSoto Commercial College, for which they have received the thanks of this committee and should receive the thanks of this society.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

THE COMMITTEE.

MISSOURI HISTORY AS ILLUSTRATED BY GEORGE C. BINGHAM.

George Caleb Bingham, in painting the picture by which he is best known throughout the southwest, "General Order No. 11, or Civil War on the Border," recorded the final outcome of a series of events of almost unparalleled, and certainly of an unsurpassed violence in the history of the Civil War.

For in the border counties of Missouri the war was fought with a peculiar bitterness growing out of a long train of events, with long cherished resentments and a deep sense of injury on both sides. The strife following upon the Kansas-Nebraska act and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the fruitful source of this bitterness. It is difficult to determine at whose door lay the greater blame; each side soon claimed that its fiercest measures were largely retaliatory. Early in the war, Lane and Jennison, of Kansas, made predatory raids into Missouri during which their soldiers robbed and looted unrebuked. In September of '61, Colonel Jennison, 7th Kansas calvary, temporarily stationed at Kansas City, made a raid upon Independence. His "redlegs" (so called from the color of their riding boots, worn outside their trousers) plundered and despoiled the citizens, taking back into Kansas with them much blooded stock and wagon loads of household furniture. This species of raiding by Jennison's men was kept up at intervals, loyal men suffering as well as the secessionists.

In addition to the civil strife, there existed what President Lincoln characterized as a "pestilent factional squabble" which he greatly deplored, and which he more than once mentions as troubling him out of measure. The two factions of the Union party were almost as venomously opposed to each other as they were to the Secessionists. Men of the

same party did not scruple to call in question each others' peculiar brand of loyalty; and the terms "claybanks" and "charcoal" were bandied back and forth unsparingly. The moderate and conservative man looked with fear and deprecation upon his radical ally; in turn, the radical distrusted his "claybank" colleague. He argued that the time for compromise had gone by; "the policy of conciliation had already paralyzed the military arm." "The time is past," says the Missouri Democrat of the day, "for the good-Lord-and-good-devil policy. Mr. Facing-both-ways' occupation is gone." "Everybody," it has been said, "was proposing to impeach everybody else." A song current in the rural districts, and sung to the tune of "John Brown," had for its refrain:

"Governor Gamble doesn't want to go to Heaven;
He's afraid he'll meet John Brown."

As time passed on, Governor Gamble and General S. R. Curtis, then in command of the Department of Missouri, found an ever increasing difficulty in working together. This resulted in the final removal of General Curtis by the President, and the appointment of General Sumner in his stead. General Sumner, however, dying while en route to take command, General Schofield was appointed to the vacancy. President Lincoln in his letter to General Schofield on his appointment, recognizes the complicated situation and the well-nigh impossible task it would be for any one in authority so to conduct himself as to leave his motives or acts unassailed by some. The President says: "If both factions or neither shall assail you, you will probably be about right. Beware of being assailed by one and praised by the other." He counsels moderation and impartiality; counsel which caused the radical press to speak with but thinly veiled sarcasm of "our merciful President." Later, the same medium clamored for the removal of General Schofield and the appointment of "A MAN" (so printed in the Missouri Democrat) in his stead. "The Lawrence massacre," said the fire-eaters, after that tragedy, "is the fruit of conciliation."

General Schofield, upon taking command in Missouri, created the military districts of "the Border," and "the Fron-

tier," the former under Brigadier-General Thomas Ewing, Jr., with headquarters at Kansas City. General Ewing, in a speech at Olathe, Johnson county, thus declared himself: "I hope soon to have troops enough on the Missouri side not only to prevent raids into Kansas, but also to drive out or exterminate every band of guerrillas now haunting that region. I will keep a thousand men in saddle daily, and will redden with their blood every bridle-path of the border until they infest it no more.....I mean, moreover, to stop with a rough hand all forays for plunder from Kansas into Missouri."

He went on to speak of the men who, while boasting their loyalty, had failed to join the army upon pretext of not liking the so-called half-way measures of the government, claiming that they better served the cause by a system of predatory warfare upon the rebels. He called these recreants severely to account, warning them that they would be summarily dealt with unless they came under authority and enlisted either with the state militia or with the enrolled militia. Thus he put himself on record as determined to punish both bushwhacker and jayhawker impartially. But there were those who doubted his sincerity, accusing him of being more politician than soldier. Bingham, with brush and pen, sought to prove him actuated by motives of personal advancement.

No doubt, Ewing was disliked and distrusted as a Kansas man. General Schofield, in his "Forty-six years in the army" says: "This struggle between extereme radicalism and conservatism among the Union people of Missouri was long and bitter.....This struggle in Missouri gave the military commander trouble enough in 1863; but to it was added the similar and hardly less troublesome party quarrel in Kansas." He found himself hampered by it at every turn when he went to the Border and to Leavenworth after the Lawrence massacre.

It was on the 19th of August, 1863, that the guerilla chief, Quantrell, and his men fell upon Lawrence at daylight and massacred the defenseless citizens. The affair is described by witnesses as one of shocking barbarity, unequaled in civilized

warfare. Major General Halleck, General-in-Chief of operations in the Departments of Missouri and the Northwest, says in his report: "A large part of the military force in the Department of the Missouri has been employed during the past year in repelling raids and in repressing the guerilla bands or robbers and murderers who have come within our lines or been organized in the country.....It is exceedingly difficult to eradicate these bands, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the country, sometimes from disloyalty and sometimes from fear, afford them subsistence and concealment.....In the recent raid of one of these bands into Kansas, they burned the city of Lawrence and murdered the inhabitants without regard to age or sex, committing atrocities more inhuman than those of Indian savages.

"These are the terrible results of a border contest, incited at first for political purposes, and since increased in animosity by the civil war in which we are engaged, till all sense of humanity seems to have been lost in the desire to avenge with blood real or fancied grievances. This extraordinary state of affairs on that frontier seems to call for the application of a prompt and severe remedy. It has been proposed to depopulate the frontier counties of Missouri, and to lay waste the border so as to prevent its furnishing any shelter or subsistence to these bands of murderers. Such measures are within the recognized laws of war; they were adopted by Wellington in Portugal, and by the Russian armies in the campaign of 1812; but they should be adopted only in case of overruling necessity. The execution of General Schofield's order on this subject has been suspended, and it is hoped that it will not be necessary hereafter to renew it."

General Schofield, in his report of the Lawrence massacre, says: "If milder means shall fail, the commanding general will order the destruction or seizure of all houses, barns or provisions, and other property of disloyal persons in those portions of the state which are made the haunts of the guerillas."

On the twenty-fifth of August, General Ewing, returning

from his pursuit of Quantrell, issued his "General Order No. 11," here given:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF THE BORDER.

Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1863.

"**First**—All persons living in Cass, Jackson, and Bates counties, Missouri, and that part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of Independence, Hickman's Mills, Pleasant Hill, and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw township, Jackson county, north of Brush creek and west of the Big Blue, embracing Kansas City and Westport, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within fifteen days from the date hereof.

"Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the military station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him certificates stating the fact of their loyalty and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of Kansas, except the counties on the eastern borders of the state. All others shall remove out of this district.

"Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed.

"**Second**—All grain or hay in the field, or under shelter in the district from which the inhabitants are required to move within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there; and report of the amount so turned over made to the district headquarters, specifying the names of all loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such districts after the 9th day of September next, not convenient to such stations, will be destroyed.

"H. HANNAHS, Adjutant.

"By order of Brigadier-General Ewing."

It was this order which furnished the text of Bingham's picture. "I will make him infamous on canvas," was what our artist, always ready with tongue and pen no less than with brush, said. His avowed intention was to "render odious the man and his measures."

General Schofield, upon his visit to the stricken district, confirmed that part of the order relative to the depopulation. Though severe, he deemed it a necessity. But he rescinded the part commanding the destruction of property. Of course, there is always the contention as to how great was the devastation before General Schofield's modification of Ewing's order went into effect. The picture under consideration is held to portray an actual occurrence not far from Independence. Of this occurrence there were, it is to be feared, far too many counterparts.

In Bingham's painting, the prairie spreads out before us until, in the distance, it meets the sky. The horizon is murky with the columns of smoke rising from burning fields. From out this dimness, long wagon trains, laden with a sorrowing people, wind toward us. In the foreground, on the left, is a homestead from which the soldiers are in the act of ejecting its occupants. From a balcony some are throwing household goods which are being loaded on army wagons and driven away. The central group is composed of the figure of an old man, evidently the master of the house, who stands, one hand clenched in anger and despair, the other outstretched in defiant protest toward a soldier who is drawing his revolver. The old man's daughter hangs about his neck, as if both to protect and calm him. At his feet, in the arms of her old black mammy, lies his fainting wife. It is his son, without doubt, whom the soldier has just shot down, and who lies dead before him— whose young wife is prostrate upon his lifeless body. Two negroes are fleeing in terror; the elder, his face buried in his hands, we feel to be a faithful servant, heartbroken at the disasters which have befallen his master. The picture is dramatic in composition, and even yet we feel in looking at it, a degree of emotion which makes it easy to understand how deep would be its impression upon a commun-

ity to many of whom it would recall a personal experience or at least serve to revive and make more real the oft repeated story told by a friend who had suffered.

Fourteen years later, Bingham followed up the work of his brush by his no less lurid pen-picture of "General Order No. 11." Ewing was then candidate for democratic governor of Ohio. Bingham, at that time adjutant-general of Missouri, was in Washington, attempting to adjust some war claims for his state. He published in the Washintgon Sentinel, an article written in the style of the literary productions of the day, for Bingham was held to write and speak with finish as well as with vigor. He probably was not responsible for the sensational headlines.

He says: "While this new aspirant to the leadership of the democratic party was in military command in 1863, with his headquarters at Kansas City, he ordered the arrest of a number of females, whom he confined in a large three-story brick building.....These females were arrested and confined under the pretext of holding them as hostages for the good behavior of their brothers, husbands or relations who were supposed to be in sympathy with or actively engaged in the Confederate cause; but those familiar with the workings of the human mind and the motives which prompt men to desperate deeds, would have clearly foreseen that their confinement and subjection to the insults of a coarse, ignorant and not infrequently licentious soldiery, would naturally have an effect the very opposite of that which this worthy acquisition to the democratic party pretended to have in view.....The more these persons could be excited to deeds of diabolism, the more the Union men of Missouri and their exposed families would be compelled to suffer, and the more he would advance himself in the favor of a large and corrupt political element in the state of Kansas. .....A still further and crowning outrage was therefore to be perpetrated, of which these helpless females were to be the victims."

He explains quite at length, the lamentable fate which befell these poor women (whom he generally designates as

females). The house in which they were confined collapsed, killing them. It had for some time been condemned and reported as unsafe; and the prisoners had begged to be removed. But their prayers were in vain. In the words of Bingham: "While their prison walls were trembling, its doors remained closed, and they were allowed to hope for no release except through the portals of a horrible death. ....."The fact that no inquiry was instituted by General Ewing.....and no soldier punished.....renders it impossible for him to escape responsibility therefor, and also for tragedies resulting therefrom, in the death of hundreds of Union soldiers and citizens of Missouri, as well as the brutal massacre which immediately followed in the state of Kansas. It is well know that when the notorious Quantrell, at the head of his band of desperadoes, entered the city of Lawrence, dealing death to the surprised and affrighted inhabitants, the appeal of his victims for quarter was answered by the fearfeul cry, 'Remember the murdered women of Kansas City,."

He tells of the murderous career of one of these men who "from that time forward devoted his life to vengeance." "Like the rider of the 'pale horse' in the Book of Revelation', 'death and hell, literally 'followed in his train.' Such was the terrible cost," he adds, "to Union men and Union soldiers" of the policy of the man whom democrats were now seeking as their leader, "a policy which mercilessly expel from their homes and rightful possessions the aged and infirm, rather than risk his precious person in a conflict with the few guerrillas who preyed upon them."

There were, indeed, those who had at the time maintained that Ewing would more surely have won for himself the renown of a true soldier had he confined his activities to the unremitting pursuit of the guerrillas, instead of depopulating and devastating the border. His adherents claim this was impossible, in view of the fact that the pursuit lay through a region filled with friends of Quantrell, bent upon shielding him and concealing his movements.

General Schofield, at the time of Ewing's candidacy for

the governorship, wrote him an open letter, justifying his course. Bingham replied through the press, disputing Schofield's conclusions at every point. General Schofiled makes the statement that the "majority of the people had already been driven from their homes or had voluntarily left them. None remained beyond the protection of the military posts except such as were, voluntarily or not, useful to the guerrillas. Those who remained were simply purveyors for these border warriors."

Bingham denies this. The country, he says, was inhabited by a well-to-do community, a people who had willingly furnished to the Union cause much more than the bushwhackers and jayhawkers had been able to extort from them, a people of indisputable loyalty, who, in the convention of '61 had cast not a single vote for a secession candidate, who had furnished, at every call for troops, their full quota by volunteers "without the compulsion of a draft."

In reply to General Schofield's statements that the order was humane in intention and humanely carried out, "bringing a disgraceful conflict to a summary close," Bingham says: "It did, indeed, put an end to the predatory raids of Kansas redlegs and jayhawkers, by surrendering to them all that they coveted, leaving nothing that could further excite their cupidity, but it gave up the country to the bushwhackers, who, until the close of the war continued to stop the stages and rob the mails and passengers; and no one wearing the federal uniform dared to risk his life within the desolated districts."

"I was present in Kansas City," he adds, "when the order was being enforced.....and can affirm from personal observation, that the sufferings of its unfortunate victims, in many instances, were such as should have elicited sympathy from hearts of stone.....It is well known that men were shot down in the very act of obeying the order, and their wagons and effects seized by their murderers."

General Schofield, in the letter under discussion, says further to Ewing: "To call your order an act of inhumanity or of retaliation upon the people of Missouri is like ac-

cusing the Russian commander of similar crimes against the people of Moscow when he ordered the destruction of that city to prevent its occupation as winter quarters by the army of Napoleon."

Bingham replies: "Napoleon was entering Moscow with a victorious and overwhelming force in the midst of a Russian winter, during which his only reliance for subsistence would have been upon the supplies stored within the limits of the city. The destruction of these, therefore, was the salvation of the Russian Empire. In the case of the measure he undertakes to defend, the overwhelming force was with General Ewing, whose duty it was to protect the people and expel the bushwhackers who infested their country."

With General Ewing's extra-Missouri career we are not concerned. Be it said, however, that this bit of Missouri history, as illustrated by Bingham, defeated, whether justly or unjustly, his gubernatorial ambitions.

Bingham further illustrated Missouri, in a vastly different vein by his painting called, "Listening to the Wilmot Proviso." It is conceived and executed in a smiling humor; and there is a quaint and pleasing delineation of the group of typical village politicians gathered to listen while one of their number reads to them. Bingham loved to paint these groups of Missourians of his time. His types are faithful and well-selected. But we have no space to pause over the existing conditions in Missouri which gave rise to the absorbing interest that the Wilmot Proviso held for these listeners.

MAY SIMONDS.

NOTE—Mr. R. B. Price, of Columbia, tells me that he saw Mr. Bingham daily while at work making the painting of "Order No. 11," and that being unable to get a canvas such as was wanted, he first painted the picture on a wooden panel. It was soon found that the panel was cracking, and Mr. Bingham got a linen table cloth and himself prepared it, and painted on it the picture that became famous, and had a far reaching effect as described in the above paper.—Editor.

THE PIKE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT. *

A minute history of the Circuit Court of Pike county from the organization of the state government ought to be a matter of some interest to every intelligent citizen. The county was organized under an act of the Territorial Legislature passed in the month of December, 1819. The first Circuit Court was held in the town of Louisiana in the month of April, 1820. This was a little less than two years after the town itself was located and surveyed. The Court was held by the Hon. David Todd, of Columbia, and its business consisted almost exclusively of matters that pertained to the organization of the county. The laying out of road districts and the appointment of road overseers were important items of the business transacted by the Court. This was nearly twelve months previous to the admission of the state of Missouri into the Union, and of course the business was limited. The Court was held in the house of Obediah Dickinson located on the east side of Main street on the second lot south of the corner of Georgia street. The house becomes a matter of some interest in following up the historical events of the County. This house of Dickinson's was built of hewed logs and stood upon lot 18 in Block 4 fronting sixty feet on Main street and running back (eastwardly) 120 feet.

All the public business of the county continued to be transacted in this house until a small brick court house was built on Third street on lot 174, Block 24. Just when this was erected and by whom I now have no means of determining. The house was a small brick structure two stories high. The entire block of lots of which this ground was a part was set aside by the original proprietors of the town upon which

* Read before the Pike County Historical Society.

public buildings of the county were to be erected. In this house all the courts of the county were held until January, 1825, when the county seat was removed to Bowling Green, There it has remained for a period of eighty-one years. Upon the admission o fthe state into the Union in August, 1821, the then Governor Alexander McNair appointed Rufus Pettibone Judge of the Circuit Court, and his brother, Levi Pettibone, clerk. Rufus had removed to the Territory from the state of New York in 1819 and located in the City of St. Louis, where he was residing at the time of his appointment. Levi had been in the Territory some two years or more, and he also was living in St. Louis when he received his commission. These were both men of sterling worth, and more than ordinary intelligence. Levi came West in 1807 with Schoolcraft and accompanied him in several expeditions through the western wilderness in search of mineral. He finally settled down in St. Louis, and was making that his home when his brother came on in search of him. They were natives of the state of Connecticut, but the Judge had been for some years before coming west a citizen of the state of New York, where he was for one or two terms a member of the State Legislature, and he had attained considerable reputation also as a practitioner of law. He settled his family in the town of St. Charles as soon as he was appointed Judge. In 1823 he was appointed one of the Justices of the State Supreme Court, and afterwards designated with Henry S. Geyer as a commissioner to prepare a Digest of the laws of the state. This work, however, he did not live to perform. He died in the city of St. Charles sometime during the year 1825.

Judge Pettibone was a ripe scholar and well educated in the law. Some three or more years after his death Ezra Hunt, then a practicing lawyer in this circuit, married Marie Pettibone, the oldest daughter of Judge Pettibone, and he was always enthusiastic in speaking to me about the learning and high order of talents of Judge Pettibone. He was succeeded on the circuit bench by Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, a native of eastern Virginia and a half brother to the celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke. Tucker's father was an aristo-

cratic Englishman who was appointed governor of the Island of Bermuda. He only remained there for a few years, and then removed with his family to eastern Virginia. Being a widower with only two children, Henry St. George and Beverly, he married the widow Randolph. She had a large area of fertile James river bottom lands, and slaves almost without number. Tucker was an aristocrat both by birth and education. He was really a well educated lawyer and a man of decided ability, but he was never popular in his circuit and encountered a great many difficulties in performing the duties of his office. He continued to act as Judge of the circuit until 1830, when from some unexplained reason he tendered his resignation to the Governor. He became an avowed aspirant for a seat in Congress from this state but utterly failed to get any endorsement from the party to which he belonged, and finally dropped out of public view almost entirely.

In 1833 he left the state and returned to his old home in Virginia. Some short time after this he was appointed Professor of Law at the old College of William and Mary, located at Williamsburg, Virginia. This position he held until the close of his life, which occurred some time between 1850 and 1860, perhaps about 1856. He was a very ardent admirer of the distinguished statesman of South Carolina, John C. Calhoun, and thoroughly imbued with all his views of political policy and principle. He sympathized fully with Mr. Calhoun in all his struggles and difficulties in the days of nullification, and as the result of all his mental struggles and labors during that exciting period in the political history of the country he wrote a book which he called "The Partizan Leader—A Tale of the Future." The publication of this book was commenced in 1836 by Gales and Seaton, Publishers and Proprietors at that time of the National Intelligencer. It was, however, suppressed as it was said by the order of General Jackson. At some period of time between 1850 and 1860 this book was published in full and became a text-book of the South in promoting the ends of secession and rebel-

lion. (1). A few years ago I procured a copy of this book and deposited it in the Louisiana Public Library.

The successor of Judge Tucker was Hon. Preistly H. McBride. He was a Kentuckian by birth, and came to the state but a short time before his appointment as judge. After coming to the state his home for a time was at Jefferson City, where he was employed as a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State. He was a licensed lawyer, but never practiced his profession in this state. After his appointment to the office of Judge, he came to Pike county and located on a farm some three or four miles west of Bowling Green, and immediately on the road leading from that town to Mexico, the county seat of Audrain county. Here he continued to reside until he finally moved out of the circuit. This was then the old Third Judicial Circuit of Missouri, and was composed of the counties of Ralls, Pike, Montgomery, Lincoln, Warren and St. Charles.

At the general election of 1834 an amendment to the State Constitution was submitted to the voters of the state providing that the offices of all the judges of the state should become vacant on the first day of January, 1836. This was ratified by the vote of the people by a large majority. There does not seem to have been any real cause for such an amendment except to have a new deal, and a new distribution of the various judgships in the state. The Governor still retained the power of appointing the judges, and all were still to be appointed for life or during good behavior. It

(1) This book was really printed in Washington in 1836, but carrying out the idea of "a tale of the future" it bore upon the tilte page the date 1851. Because it advocated secession the author and publisher were afraid of prosecution, and did not give their names, the book being secretly printed. The name of the author was given as Edward William Sidney, and "printed for the publishers by James Caxton," Duff Green being the real printer. The date given was only a few years from the reality. The book was written while Judge Tucker lived on his farm in Florissant, St. Louis county, where he used the stump of a hollow tree for his study, and in which he wrote this book, and also another named "George Balcombe," which has been highly praised by Poe and Simms.

The original edition and the reprint made in Richmond in 1862 are both rare; the New York reprint of 1861 can be obtained more easily. F. A. SAMPSON.

is true there had been some changes in a few of the circuits in the state, but none in the old Third Circuit. It remained just as it was. Hon. Ezra Hunt was appointed judge of the Third Circuit and Judge McBride was re-appointed judge, but assigned to the Circuit immediately north of Pike county and extending to the northern boundary of the state. McBride was very much incensed at the whole proceeding. He was very domestic in his nature, exceedingly fond of his country home, and the business of farming and raising stock, and he could not be reconciled to the idea of giving up his farm and moving to a new location. He conceived the idea that he had a constitutional right to hold on to his old place under his commission of 1830. His appointment at that time was for life or during good behavior, and he did not believe that he could be ousted by any such trick as had been attempted to be played upon him. He promptly notified the public that he would remain on his farm in Pike county and continue to discharge the duties of judge of the old Third Judicial Circuit. Judge Hunt immediately took steps to oust him by the judicial writ of quo warranto issued by the Supreme Court of the state. The case was heard and decided by that Court in the early spring of 1836, Judge Hunt being represented by A. B. Chambers who was then a resident of Bowling Green and circuit attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit of Missouri. Being ousted by the decision of the Supreme Court, Judge McBride at once disposed of his farm and removed to the county of Monroe, which was included in the Circuit to which he had been assigned. He left this Circuit in high dudgeon, and especially so with Judge Hunt. After I commenced practicing law in 1845, I saw Judge McBride in Bowling Green during a term of the Circuit Court, but my impression is that he was there on a business errand of some kind; he did not speak to Judge Hunt or go into the court house during his stay in the town. During that year he was appointed one of the Justices of the State Supreme Court to fill the vacancy (as I now remember) on that bench occasioned by the death of Judge Tomkins. Judge McBride held his place on the

Supreme bench until he was ousted by a constitutional amendment adopted by a vote of the people at the August election of 1848. At the end of his term of service on the Supreme bench he retired to his farm, and never again became a candidate for any office. Very soon after his retirement to private life he removed from Monroe to the county of Boone and settled in what is known as Two-Mile Prairie a short distance east of Columbia. Here he died in the early fifties. Judge McBride could not be classed as an eminent lawyer by any means. He was a man, however, of good practical common sense, a good farmer, thoroughly domestic in all his tastes and habits, and attached to the business of farming and stock raising. Some one of the early lawyers said to me that Judge McBride would, at any time, ride ten miles out of his way in going around the circuit, to look at a fine horse.

Immediately after the decision of the Supreme Court, Judge Hunt assumed the duties of judge of the Third Circuit and held that position until the winter of 1849, when he was ousted by a constitutional amendment adopted by a vote of the people of the state at the August election of 1848. It was a cruel blow to one of the most honest, deserving men that ever lived in the county. This constitutional amendment inaugurated a new era in the judicial history of the state. It was provided that the judicial term of office of the Circuit Judges should be limited to six years, to be filled by an election by the qualified voters of the state on the first Monday in August, 1851. On the first day of January, 1849, by the terms of this constitutional amendment the offices of all the circuit judges in the state became vacant, and the vacancies were filled by the appointment of the Governor until the first day of January, 1852, the first election of Judges being required to be held on the first Monday in August, 1851, under such terms and regulations as the Legislature should provide. During the last year of Judge Hunt's service the county of Marion had been added to the Circuit. The Hon. Carty Wells, formerly a resident of Palmyra, in Marion county, was appointed to fill the office until the elec-

tion of 1851. No event in the political history of the county gave me more pain than the condition of Judge Hunt. He had almost reached the period when his age would have been a limit to his service as a judge. He had not accumulated a dollar in all his practice at the bar or from his meager salary during the thirteen years of hard service on the bench, and he found himself in almost a destitute condition. However he never uttered a word of complaint, but resumed the practice of law with all the energy and ardor of a new beginner. He literally died at his post. At a noon recess of the Lincoln Circuit and immediately after he had eaten a hearty dinner he fell into a gentle sleep from which he never awoke. He was a well educated lawyer, and as honest and pure minded a man as ever lived.

The Bench and Bar of Pike county have received their full share of official honors. Three of its Circuit Judges have been elevated to the Supreme Bench of the state. One of its lawyers has served a term in the Senate of th United States, and six have occupied seats in the Lower House of Congress. This record will compare favorably with that of any other county in the state.

THOMAS J. C. FAGG.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1858.

An investigation of the Archives at Jefferson City under the auspices of the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, brought to light, among many others, the documents here produced. The present condition of the Archives leaves much to be desired. Owing to lack of space, of filing cabinets, and of ordinary care, there has been for years a constant overflow of documents from the offices of the executive departments into the basement of the capitol building. Here the papers were piled up in rooms, hallways and out of the way corners, often loose on the floor or in open packing cases. Until the present administration took control, there was practically no effort made to arrange, classify or even insure the preservation of these papers. Mr. Swanger, the present Secretary of State, has made a determined effort to better conditions in his Department, and has placed perhaps the majority of these records beyond any immediate danger of destruction and so far arranged several important series that they are no longer entirely inaccessible. The records of the Land Department, the most complete series still preserved, are still in a most unsatisfactory condition, as are the less extensive collections of the Auditor and Treasurer. But it is unfair to expect the Departments now to bear the entire burden of the results of the neglect of the last fifty years. There is an imperative need of an Historical Commission, similar to those already organized in Mississippi, Alabama, Iowa, and other states, to classify and systematize the Archives as a whole, and it is earnestly to be desired that such a department may be created by the next General Assembly.

The following documents, now printed for the first time, throw considerable light on the conditions along the Border at the time of the Marias-des-Cygnes massacre and the outbreak of the "Border Warfare." It is greatly to be regretted that General Parsons was, apparently, unsuccessful in his attempt to secure a statement from Hamilton, the leader in that affair. The report of Snyder is especially valuable from the sources of his information and the sanity and fairness of his conclusions.

The originals of these documents are now in the office of the Secretary of State, in a bundle labeled "Military Papers; Southwest Expedition."

JONAS VILES.

I.—S. G. ALLEN TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Harrisonville May 30th 58.

Gov- R. M. Stewart

Respected Sir on my arrival at home I found affairs in a still more threatning attitude than when I left our people were anxiously waiting to learn the success of my Mission—and you may be assured that it afforded me the utmost pleasure to assure the People here that you would readily and Speedily afford them all the aid concistant with the high and important Station you fill during my absence a company has been formed here another S. W in this (Cass) and one in Bates and all look to you State arms Pledgeing themselves to act only in Self defense within your Jurisdiction I arrived at home about an hour before Sun down and found the company in Town meeting to drill I briefly reported success and fell into ranks unless —new depredations have been committed new threats have been made and vigourous preparations are going on just over the line—what is to be the end God only knows—I hope Sir that you will allow no delay in affording what protection is in the compass of your power—you please accept my greatful acknowledgements for your kindness showed me while in your city * * * * * * I am pleased to inform you that in

forming companies none are allowed to join but bonafide citizens of Mo—in haste I am your obedient Survt

S. G. ALLEN.

[Endorsed]
S. G. Allen's
letter May-30 '58
concerning invasion
of border.

II.—GOVERNOR STEWART TO ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS. (1).

G. A. Parsons Esqr
Adjutant General of Mo

Sir—It having been represented to me by worthy and reliable citizens of the Counties of Cass and Bates, in this State, a marauding party of armed men from the adjoining Territory of Kansas, have recently invaded this state, and committed sundry outrages on our citizens—that they threaten to return, and burn and lay waste their property—and that our ctizens in the border counties have good cause to fear for the safety of their lives and property, rendering it my duty as the Executive of the State to take some steps calculated to secure their safety and the safety of their property; and preserve the public peace and see that laws are faithfully executed;

I therefore direct that you proceed in your quality of Adjutant General of the State to the scene of the difficulty in the Western portion of this State and make such investigation as you may deem necessary with regard to the causes of difficulty and the probability of their recurrence; and also as to what steps may be necessary to provide our citizens with adequate protection from further depredations. Should it become necessary to act immediately in order to secure the safety of our

(1) This is the original draft, in Governor Stewart's own hand, with many corrections. The warning against aggressive action was repeated more emphatically and explicitly in a letter, same to same, June 10, 1858.

citizens, you are hereby authorized to enroll a sufficient volunteer force to accomplish that purpose.

You are also authorized, if in your opinion it be necessary, after an investigation of the facts, to provide for the immediate organization of Military companies in the counties most convenient to the scene of difficulty, with a view to their being called into the service of the State should the necessity arise.

You will be particular to direct that none of the forces which may thus be called into the service of the State, cross the line into Kansas, or do ought else that may be of an agressive character.

R. M. STEWART
Commander, in chief

[Endorsed]
Instructions to
Adj Gen. Parsons
May 31, 1858.

III.—STATEMENT OF CITIZENS OF BATES COUNTY, MO.

At a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Bates county, Mo, at the Town of West Point June 5th 1858 it was determined that Joseph Clymer be requested to make out a detailed account of the invasion of Missouri and other outrages committed upon her citizens by the outlaws of Kansas Territory, and that the same be submitted to the Governor of our State or other officer acting under his authority; and in furtherance of the above request I now proceed to condense the facts. So far as I have been able to glean them from reliable sources, stating nothing but what I know to be facts and what I have from men of honor and reputation—I will pass over those stirring events that took place in Linn County K. T.—upon our immediate border—that drove out from that county all proslavery men and such honest free state men as would not swear to support the extreme ultra views of the extreme Black Republicans of Kansas,—and merely notice what occurred in the sthate of Missouri in this vicinity:

About the first of May, our border Towns and settlements were crowded with persons, from Kansas, who had in

many instances been robbed of their property, and driven from the Territory and that too, under the threat of the penalty of death, in case they did not leave or in case they should ever return; after many enquiries and frequent conversations with men altogether reliable, we ascertained that one James Montgomery, of Sugar Mound headed the company that was thus driving out good and peaceable citizens and then robbing their houses of every thing valuable, stealing their horses etc. We also learned that said outlaws never marked or spotted a man but what they drove him off they never threatened an individual, town or neighborhood but they executed it; if they went to rob or drive from his home they took five or ten men, if neighborhood they took 20, if a town 75 or 100, they always had men enough for the emergency, under this state of affairs the honest (free state) men of the territory, together with those who had been driven out, sought shelter in Missouri, and Missourians whilst they afforded them all the accomodations in their power abstained from all interference whatever in the affair, but still there were messages received every day telling us that so soon as Montgomery and his men drove out all men from the Territory whom they did not like they would attack Missouri—The towns of Butler and West Point were mentioned as the first victims, whilst we were disposed to believe it, from the number of small companies of spies that were seen prowling about our border, we did not regard it farther to guard our Towns and the citizens of the border guarded their property, but still they sent their threats until about the 14th of May a company of Montgomery's men crossed the line in this county and took two horses from the Rev. George W. Geyer and a saddle from Dr. A. P. Brown, and I have heard of other like deeds were committed until the 20th of May, when they sent us word that they would attack West Point that evening, and we have the most reliable information that there were about four hundred in two and a half miles of the line. About 4 o'clock P. M. of that day Col Mooney rode out of the town some half mile when he saw a large body, in the State, marching up towards West Point, they fired upon with their Sharps Rifles, he ran back to town, they marched up some-

thing near half mile from Town and after a halt they from 75 to 100 and there were many others (near Town who did not come in town) come charging in town at the top of their speed, marched through the town in military style, used all manner of defiance to the town and individuals and in our opinion were, only restrained, doubtless, from plundering and destroying the town from the fear of our citizens (some 30 in number) who were stationed in homes as a shelter, in case a fight should ensue. After making enquiry for certain individuals, and drinking and eating what they wanted they marched out of Town in the same defiant manner in which they marched in, on leaving they went South inside the State and about two miles from West Point they went to the house of Mr Jack: Clark, in the State, robbed him of his money took every thing valuable about his house, even his and his wife's wearing apparel and then destroyed his entire furniture They met him and his wife in the road returning from a visited and there stopped and searched them taking everything valuable that they had about there persons by this time all our citizens near the border took fright, not being in a condition to defend themselves and have left their homes in fact such is the alarm produced that some of our oldest best neighborhoods have become nearly or entirely depopulated, their farms, their stock and in many instances their household furniture and clothing have been left at the mercy of these outlaws, those who from necessity have ventured back to their homes, have found their farms thrown open etc and have seen spies placed around them watching their movements etc. On or about the 21st or 22nd of May some 20 or 25 crossed into this county, south of the Marias-des-Cygnes and chased some of our citizens several miles and doubtless would have gottem but for the timber, in which they sought shelter—about the 6th of May Dr. Rockwell, a citizen of our place while attending professional calls just over the line in the Territory, was attacked by eight armed men robbed of some 300$, his horse taken from his buggy and taken from him, his pistols etc, taken and watch; it is proper to state here that they decoyed Dr. R. out into the Territory shot at him, and stood with two guns cocked

over his head whilst he was robbed; and since all these occurrences mentioned above a large number (182) of armed men have been seen prowling about in our State near West Point, and in fact bodies of armed from the Territory have been seen at different times and places in our State, almost every day we here of them sending in word by some of their men that they intend to come over into Missouri, destroy West Point, Butler, Papinsville &c. There are a number of other outrages not mentioned in the above but may be included in after statement whether they will attack us we know not, they have threatened us, they have invaded our State, they have marched into one of our Towns and insulted its citizens. They robbed, plundered destroyed the property and insulted peaceable and unoffending citizens. They have chased and shot at men who were tending to their own business, they have driven a large number of our citizens from their homes, stolen their property and in fact have ruined many of them, (they are still at these things) they have disregarded the dignity of our State, trampled under foot all the respect that is due from one sovereign State to another, They have forced us to stand guard day and night, to go armed about our daily avocations and all of this we have been compelled to submit to all this from our defenceless condition and we now appeal and we think have a right to appeal to our State Government for protection ask it, and we hope it will not be refused us.

Respectfully,
Yours &c
JOS. CLYMER.

Gen. G. A. Parsons
Adj General

We the undersigned citizens of Bates County Missouri, being familiar with the facts endorse the above statement of Hon. Jos Clymer as being substantially true
June 5th 1858.

THOS. H. STARNES
T. W. B. ROCKWELL
NATHAN SEARS.
I. A. PIGG
J. S. PIGG
JAMES A. MARSHALL

T. R. SIMPSON
A. H. SPENCER
VINCENT JOHNSON
JAMES McHENRY
ALEXANDER FEELEY
[Endorsed]
Statement of
citizens of Bates Co.
concerning Border
troubles.
June 1858.

IV.—ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Harrisonville
10 Oclock P. M. June 4th 1858

His Excellency
R. M. Stewart Comdr. in Chief Mo. M.
Dear Sir

I wrote you hurriedly yesterday, (1) I again write to you this night giving you the information I have just secured from a gentleman of unquestioned veracity living in this county: the subject came up this way, I told him I would like to see Hamilton while I was here and get from under his hand and also from the best men that were with him in his troubles in K. T. (for there is where they resided before they were driven out) a full and complete statement of the conduct of Montgomery and his followers toward the Pro Slavery party in the T. and on the border within our States, as a paper to be filed in your office. It is said here that Hamilton (2) is very much of a gentlemen a native of Georgia. I have enquired of several here where Hamilton is at this time none could tell, some thought he was in Independence, some in one place and some in another. The gentleman above alluded to gave me to understand that he believed he was not far from this

(1) The letter referred to dealt with the organization of a local militia company.

(2) The leader in the Marias-des-Cynges massacre.

place, yet, he did not know but believed he could find out tomorrow and it could be arranged so that, I could have an interview with him in the course of the day The gentleman in the course of our conversation expressed it as his opinion that there would be in the course of a week from this time, from 100 to 200 men who would go into the T. and take revenge of Montgomery and his followers for robbing them of their property and driving them from their homes, **mark you these** are K. T. men seeking revenge, **not Missourians.** Yet they are at this time within the borders of this State.

Just at night 75 of the K. T. men who had been driven out some time since come into this place well armed. From the manner in which the gentleman talked with me (it is not his words I judged from, but the manner and expression of his countenance) I was satisfied that he had a good idea of what was going on among them.

A company of volunteers has been raised today Col Blakey will be here tomorrow and organize them I think you may have no fear that this company will attempt to cross the line in K. T. but will if necessary to enter the field at all act entirely on the defensive.

But should Hamilton with his recruits (all of whom are K. T. men) return to the Territory and make war upon Montgomery and men, some of the presses of our State will charge it at once upon those companies now being organized in this county and Bates and will attempt to make it appear that such was your intention when you sent me up here: I therefore inform you of the information I have received in advance of anything that may occur between those belligerents in order that you may be able to place yourself right before the people if such event should occur.

I hope sir, you will not make this public unless it should be necessary upon the happening of the contingencies above stated as the gentleman from whom I gathered the information is very desirous that it should be entirely confidential and it is not right that it should be made public for the reason that persons in this section are at this time in danger of being injured in person or property if they are suspected of taking a

part between those parties, and for another reason I wish it kept in a confidential manner. That is he told me these things looked upon me as a gentleman from the position, if nothing else that I occupy here.

There is to be a meeting at West Point in Bates Co. in Monday next. The Montgomery party will be there, the object of the meeting (is said to be) for the purpose of making a treaty, between those outlaws of K. T. and the Citizens along the border, The proposition for this meeting I understand came from the Montgomery party It is thought by some that a difficulty will take place among them at this meeting.

It is said by those are leaving the Territory now that the abolitionist there are greatly alarmed and many of them are getting out on account of a report having been circulated among them, that there was at this time a man by the name Jackson (an old settler on the border having resided there for 18 years in 2 1-2 miles of the line, but lately having been robbed of property and ordered off, (although in Missouri) left and came to this place with his family) busily engaged in raising volunteers for the purpose of marching into K. T. and that he already had 200 men. This report however is untrue, for Jackson is here and been here ever since I arrived and have had frequent conversation with him

June 5 1858
Harrisonville 7 Oclock A M

The report is here this morning that those devils from K. T. had made a descent on Butler the county seat of Bates and plundered the town. This report is not believed here; and therefore I think it well it drop just where it is unless found to be true, for there are facts enough well authenticated here if all of them were generally known to create the most intense excitement in the minds of every honest man. Many things that we in Jefferson would consider of a grave and serious character that are hardly noticed here, these depredation having been going on to a greater or lesser degree for 4 years until the citizens have become accustomed to them, and consequently they are not so easily excited as at first. I have

endeavored since I have been here to keep down excitement as far as my mission is concerned, although when hearing of some of the acts of those devils I have felt almost like I would be proud to see every devil of them butchered. I shall be in Butler tomorrow.

Yours respectfully
G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Gen

[Endorsed]
G. A. Parsons.

V.—REPORT OF ADJUTANT GENERAL PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Adjutant General Office
Jefferson City
June 16th 1858

R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief of the Mo Mi.
Sir

In pursuance of your orders to the undersigned directed and delivered dated May the 28th 1858, we proceeded to Harrisonville in Cass County Missouri, and on the 5th day of June a company of volunteers were organized at said place called the "Cass County Guards" on the 6th instant we proceeded to Butler in Bates County Missouri, and on the 7th instant four volunteers companies were raised, neither of which were organized: the Division Inspector for the 6th District not being in attendance I (G. A. Parsons adgt Genl) Sent an express for him, with the request that he attend and proceed to organize said companies; and go from thence to Vernon County and organize any company or companies that the people there may think proper to raise. On tuesday the 8th instant we left Butler for Austin in Cass County; at this place Col Blakey Division Inspector for the 5th District organized a volunteer company there called the "Austin Blews." From thence Col Blakey proceeded to "Pleasant Hill" and on the 10th instant organized a volunteer company there, called the "Pleasant Hill Rangers" we then returned to Head Quarters at Jefferson City.

While traversing the counties on the border of our State, we made diligent enquiry of reliable men (citizens there) as to the condition of things on the border, they related them as being deplorable indeed; they say a large strip of country within our state is almost entirely depopulated, our citizens driven from their homes and in many instances property taken, and they threatened with death should they return. Many of those men we saw in and about Butler and Harrisonville who had been forced to leave their homes and take refuge in the interior of those counties.

Many acts of violence and plunder we heard of there, that were committed by this Kansas Territory Banditti, but we deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed account of all we have seen and heard, while on the border of our State.

(The statement furnished us by reliable citizens and filed with you, we ask to be taken as part of this report.)

We are of opinion that the companies raised there will not be sufficient protection to the border Settlements on account of their being settled over so large a Territory and cannot be gotten together in time to repel an invasion or to prevent any depredations intended to be committed by those out Laws.

The Statement furnished us by reliable citizens residents of Cass and Bates Counties, and with you filed a few days ago we ask to be considered as a part of this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

G. A. PARSONS,
Adgt Genl. Mo Mi
A. G. BLAKEY,
Division Inspector
5th Military District
Mo. Militia.

[Endorsed]
Ad Gen. Parson's report
of Border War.

NOTE—The paragraph on this page, reading: "The statement furnished us by reliable citizens and filed with you, we ask to be taken as part of this report," has been marked out in original paper.

VI.—J. F. SNYDER TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Headquarters 6th Division
Missouri Militia:
Pappinville, Bates Co, Mo.
Aug. 7, 1858.

R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri;
Sir:

In obedience to your orders I came to this County Several days ago to investigate the true condition of affairs upon the border, and after much diligent enquiry I have the honor to make the following report and suggestions.

My information is collected from the clerk of the Court, the Justices of the County Court, the Justices of the Peace, the Sheriff, the Representative elect, and many of the principal citizens of the County not in official positions.

The unhappy difficulties in Kansas Territory have caused many of the citizens of that territory to seek safety in this state. Some of these refugees, (if I may use the term), actuated by a spirit of retaliation or revenge have gone back into the Territory and committed depredations, and, in turn, they have been pursued by citizens of that territory into this State This has been the first source of all difficulties here.

Many unprincipled persons too, who have sustained no loss in the territory, have perhaps availed themselves of the excited state of feeling, and gone over there and committed murder or felony, and then returned here for safety.

Citizens here have perhaps too, innocently harbored thieves and been the recipients (unknowingly) of Stolen property.

This state of affairs has very naturally excited the public mind, and the total inadequacy of the civil authorities to suppress these wrongs and ferret out the guilty has seriously threatened the Supremacy of the law, and I find the County now almost on the eve of civil war. Several citizens have intimated to me that they did not consider either their property or their lives safe here at any time.

The late horrid murder which was perpetrated near this place a month ago has added much to the excited state of feeling, and the facts developed by it have done much to embitter one class of the citizens against the other.

To this affair I wish briefly to call your attention. It seems that all parties concerned in it were citizens of Kansas, residing a short distance over the line. The five persons who were principal and accessory to the murder (viz. Morrow, Bean, Turk, and two others) are reported to have been driven out of the territory some time last Spring. They came to this county and took refuge with one W. B. Young, living seven miles north of this place. A short time since Pope and Harris came from the territory hunting for stolen horses. They went to Young's and there were arrested, without authority, by those five persons, who brought them to this place, took their money from them, and started back to Young's with them about dark. Two miles from town they left the road and ordered the prisoners to dismount, and then fired at them, killing Pope immediately: Harris escaped. (I send you a copy of his affidavit.) (1) **Pope's horses were found in Young's orchard.**

I would respectfully suggest to you the necessity of offering a liberal reward for the apprehension of these five persons.

Strong threats are made by one class of the citizens here to take the law into their own hands and rid themselves of those disreputable characters, whilst on the other hand it is said that the Kansas refugees and their friends openly defy the law, or those who would enforce it.

All parties here call loudly on you for protection. The present militia law, I find, is entirely inadequate to the exigencies of the case; and I would therefore make the following suggestions:

I am thoroughly satisfied that military force is absolutely necessary to enforce the laws and restore peace to this locality, but I am also convinced that it would be highly imprudent to call out the militia of this county, I would therefore respect-

(1) This letter gives an accurate summary of the affidavit.

fully advise you to order out one of the St. Louis independent companies, or give me power to call out a company from my county or the adjoining counties, to equip them immediately and place them here on active service as Rangers.

This plan I suggest after mature deliberation, and consultation with the Sheriff and others: all agree that this plan alone will insure protection to all parties.

The organization of independent companies here under the present law is almost impossible; and if it were possible such companies would be entirely useless.

The Governor of Kansas has placed upon our frontier a company of Rangers on active service. A similar company within our state acting in concert with that would speedily suppress all depredations and would be efficient in arresting all malefactors on either side.

The militia of this county would be too much influenced by self interest, prejudice, or revenge to act impartially. Consequently whatever force is brought into the field must be brought from some other locality.

I consider it no longer a question of expediency or necessity—the case is urgent and demands some active steps to be immediately taken to suppress insurrection and repel invasion.

I shall return to my home, Bolivar, Polk Co, tomorrow and there await further orders.

With respect, &c,
Your ob'dient servant,
J. F. SNYDER
Division Inspector 6th Military
district Missouri militia.

[Endorsed]
Snyder.

VII.—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR DENVER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
City of Jefferson Augt 7, 1858.

His Excellency
J. W. Denver,
Governor of the Territory of Kansas.

Dear Sir: According to reliable information repeatedly received within the last few weeks, the citizens of Missouri along the border, in Cass and Bates Counties, are constantly liable to depredations by marauding parties from Kansas Territory, by which both their lives and property are endangered. In consequence of this unfortunate state of affairs, it will probably be necessary for me to station an armed force along the border, for the purpose of protecting our citizens from lawless depradations; and in my endeavors to preserve the peace I hope to have your hearty and earnest co-operation, in order that said efforts may be attended with entire success, and as a means of preventing any collission between the citizens of Kansas and those of Missouri who may be stationed there as conservators of the peace.

It is greatly to be regretted that any cause should exist for a resort to such means of preserving order, and I believe that no one regrets its necessity more than yourself; and I feel assured that you will do all in your power to put an end to the evil complained of, and also to prevent any occurrence calculated to mar the cordial feeling generally existing between the citizens of Missouri and Kansas.

The fearful consequences liable to result to the nation from any conflict of arms between citizens of the State of Missouri, and those of the Territory of Kansas,, even though resulting from an effort to maintain the law and to shield the innocent from harm, cannot now be estimated, owing to the fact, that exaggerated reports of any such occurrence are very certain to be circulated, and the minds of the people to thereby become unduly excited. I know, sir, that you can fully appreciate

these dangers, and therefore confidently expect that you will use every possible means tending to ward them off.

With assurrances of esteem I am, sir.

Very truly yours,
R. M. STEWART,
Gov. of the State of Mo.

[Endorsed]
Copy of a Letter to J. W. Denver,
Gov. of Kansas.

VIII.—GOVERNOR DENVER TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Executive Office.
Lecompton, K. T. Aug. 18th 1858.

To His Excellency,
R. M. Stewart,
Governor of the State of Missouri.
My Dear Sir.

Your communication of the 7th inst. was re-received last night. I regret exceedingly that you should deem it necessary to station an armed force along the borders, and must express the hope that upon a thorough investigation you will be induced to change your purpose. The late unsettled state of affairs on the South Eastern part of this Territory has caused me great solicitude and induced me to send detachments of U. S. Troops to the scenes of trouble and also to call out a small company of volunteers.

Peace has been fully restored and the supremacy of the civil authorities established in the troubled districts. The U. S. troops have been withdrawn, but the contiguity of the States of Missouri and Arkansas to the Territory of Kansas affords so many facilities for persons committing offences against the laws of one to escape to the others and thus escape punishment, that I have deemed it proper to retain the Volunteer force under command of Captain A. I. Weaver for a short time longer. Nothing but the past condition of affairs in that Section of country, would in my opinion justify this course, for the civil authorities ought to be required to preserve the

peace. I am satisfied that the only marauders now in this Territory are organized bands of horse thieves, such as are too common in all new countries especially where they can so easily elude the officers of one State or Territory by passing the boundary line into another, and whose depredations are by no means confined to either. These offenders can always keep beyond the reach of any military force, and they can be exterminated only by the active and energetic exertions of the people should be taught to rely on themselves for protection people should be taught to rely on themselves for protection against such offenders and in the maintainance of the laws.

To this end I have earnestly labored and I trust not without some good results. I have also endeavored to impress on the citizens of the Territory the necessity and importance of cultivating friendly relations with their neighbors of Missouri, and I have every reason to believe there is a very general disposition to do so.

The officers and people of this Territory generally along the borders of Missouri, will, I am quite sure, cooperate most heartily with the authorities on your side of the line in bringing offenders to justice, and I therefore indulge the hope that the civil authorities will be found sufficient to protect the people in their persons and property without the aid of the military in future.

Herewith I send you extracts from my instructions to Capt Weaver. The Captain is now here and reports every thing quiet in the South.

Hoping that it may continue so, and that every semblance of Military power may soon be withdrawn from civil affairs, I have the honor to be

Your Obt' Srvt'.

J. W. DENVER, Governor.

[Endorsed]
Gov Denver to Gov Stewart
Augt 18, 1858.

NECROLOGY.

DR. H. E. ROBINSON.

Dr H. E. Robinson, the second President of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at his home at Maryville, April 15, 1907. He was born in Battleborough, Vermont, April 22, 1845, his ancestors having been in New England since 1656. He had fifty-three ancestors any one of whom would entitle him to become a member of the Society of Colonial Wars. His father was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a member of the Vermont Conference, and afterwards of the Wisconsin Conference.

Dr. Robinson enlisted in the 16th Wisconsin Infantry Christmas day of 1863, and served until June 18, 1865. After the war he studied dentistry in Boston, and in March, 1870, came to Maryville, Missouri, to practice his profession, but in 1871 purchased the Maryville Republican. From 1875 to 1886 he again practiced his profession, but in 1888 became the proprietor of the Republican for the second time, and its editor until during his last sickness.

He was a Chancellor Commander of the Knights of Pythias, a Past Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, an ex-President of the Missouri Editorial Association, a member of the State Board of Charities and President of the State Historical Society.

Dr. Robinson was a great reader, and possessed a fine library. In 1897 he privately printed a catalogue with notes of the occult books in his library, this part of his library being one of the most extensive in the country in that line. He was also the author of a half dozen or more other publications, of genealogical and biographical subjects.

SENATOR THOMAS CONNER was born in Kerry County, Ireland, August 1, 1854. He was president of the Miners Bank at Joplin from its organization until his death, and he organized the Joplin Hotel Company in 1877.

He was elected senator to the Forty-fourth General Assembly, but his health was such that he was not able to take his seat during the session. He died at San Antonio, Texas, March 29, 1907.

COLONEL JOHN D. CRAFTON came to Kansas City from Kentucky in the early '50's, and engaged in the freighting business. In one venture in Oregon he lost $150,000, and in an Indian raid $50,000 more. During the Civil War he was in the military service, and was advanced to the rank of Colonel. Governor Hardin appointed him Adjutant General of the State, and President Cleveland appointed him to a South American consulship. While living in Jefferson City he lost his wife and three children, two by accident and one by a physician's mistake. He died in Kansas City, March 10, 1907, aged eighty-four years.

HON. MONT CARNES was elected a member of the Legislature from the eastern district of Pettis County, and served in 1891-92. He was depot master at Sedalia and after his term of office was depot master in Kansas City. He died in that city March, 1907, and was buried in Sedalia, the Woodmen of the World, Knights of Pythias and A. O. U. W., of which organizations he was a member, taking part in the funeral services.

HON. JOHN M. DUPUY was born in New York in 1837, of Hugenot and Scotch-Irish descent. His grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers, his father of the War of 1812, and he with four brothers of the Civil War. He resided in Taney County, Missouri, since 1898, operating a farm, and being a minister of the General Baptist Church. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1904 and re-elected in 1906. During the session of the Legislature he died suddenly at Jefferson City, March 3, 1907.

GENERAL HENRY CLAY EWING was born in Jefferson City, Missouri, August 15, 1828, and died at his home in the same city, March 29, 1907, in which city he had resided all his life, where he was prominent as a business man and president of a bank, a leading lawyer of the State, a member of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-first General Assembly, 1881, a member of the Supreme Court Commission, and Attorney-General of the State during the Woodson administration.

BISHOP JAMES NEWBERRY FITZGERALD was born in Newark, New Jersey, July 27, 1837, was educated in the public schools of that city, and in the law school at Princeton, admitted to the bar in 1858, but after practicing three years gave up that profession, and became a Methodist minister. He was a member of the Newark Conference, and in 1881 was elected Secretary of the Missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal church, and in 1888 was elected a Bishop of that church. At various times he has held conferences in foreign countries—in Mexico, South America, Europe and Asia. Last November he went to India to participate in the India Jubilee celebration at Bareilly, and was to have represented the Missionary Society at the centennial of the founding of Protestant missions in China, and also to be present at the organization of the Japanese Methodist Church, in which the different branches of Methodism are to be united. He died at Hong Kong, China, April 4, of pleurisy. For the past ten years Bishop Fitzgerald's episcopal residence has been in St. Louis, where he was recognized as a leader in Methodist movements, and where he had a large share in the founding of the Epworth Evangelistic Institute.

HON. THOMAS B. GANNAWAY was a member of the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth General Assembly, and for forty years had been identified with the political and business interests of Monroe County. He was at one time Grand Master of the Odd Fellows of the State of Missouri, and a prominent member of the Baptist Church. He died from blood poisoning at Paris, Missouri, March 28, 1907.

JOHN BARNETT JEWELL was born in Scott County, Illinois, July 19, 1841, and died at Springfield, Missouri, March 23, 1907. When quite young he moved to Louisiana, Missouri, where he received a common school education and learned the printer's trade.

In 1867 he entered the ministry of the Southern Methodist Church in Kansas, was transferred to the Missouri Conference, and held pastorates at Cainesville, Cameron, Gallatin, Palmyra and Carrollton. While at the latter place he retired from the ministry, was editor of the Democrat, and postmaster of the city. In 1893 he moved to Springfield, and established the Jewell Publishing Company, and was editor of the Springfield Leader at the time of his death. He was Past Grand Master and Past Grand Representative of the Order of Odd Fellows.

JUDGE W. H. MIZE, a prominent citizen of Stotts City, in southwest Missouri, died April 24, aged 65 years. He was formerly territorial Secretary of Montana.

EMILY R. STEINESTEL McNAMARA was born in Germany in 1842, the youngest daughter of Dr. J. D. Steinestel, who arrived in St. Louis, January 1, 1847, the first homeopathic physician to locate in St. Louis. During the summer of 1849, when the cholera epidemic was at its height, in three hours after returning from visiting its victims he was himself dead. Emily early developed a talent for writing, her contributions being published in the Sunday Republican, and in several magazines. About 1878 she removed to New York City, and resided there to the time of her death, March 15, 1907. In 1879 she married Mr. Miles H. McNamara, and continued her literary work, translating several of Marlitt's works for the "Seaside Library." She also translated "The Peddler's Legacy," "Under the Stork's Nest," and the "Vicar's Diary." "Prince Coastwynd's Victory or the Fairy Bride of Croton Lake" was a fairy story written by her. Belford, Clark and Co., published histories of the different states in words of one syllable, hoping to have them introduced into the lower grades of the public schools. Mrs. McNamara

wrote the history of Missouri, published in 1889, and also that of Virginia. She died in New York, but was buried in St. Louis, in the family plot in St. John's cemetery.

CAPTAIN CHARLES B. OWEN was born in Tennessee in 1827 and came to Greene County with his parents when ten years of age. He organized a company of Home Guards at Springfield in 1861, and was the guide who conducted the federal forces to the battlefield of Wilson Creek. He was afterwards in the regular army and was with Sherman in his march from Atlanta to the sea. He died at his home ten miles southwest of Springfield, March 16, 1907.

PROFESSOR JAMES ADDISON QUARLES, D. D., LL. D., a noted educator and writer was born at Boonville, Missouri, and died at Lexington, Virginia, April 14, at the age of 70 years. He had held pastorates of the Presbyterian Church in Missouri, was for ten years president of the Elizabeth Aull Female Seminary at Lexington, Missouri, and for the last twenty-one years professor of moral philosophy at Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

COL. GEORGE S. RATHBUN came from Ohio to Lafayette county before the Civil War, taught school in Greenton Valley in that County, studied law, and in 1860 was elected by the Whig party as a member of the House of Representatives of the Twenty-first General Assembly. During the war he served under Price and Shelby, and attained the rank of Colonel. He was a candidate for representative to the Confederate Congress but was defeated by Vest. After the war he became a very prominent lawyer and some twenty years ago he moved from Lexington to Springfield where he died March 15, 1907, aged 78 years.

CAPTAIN R. E. SEE was sheriff of Montgomery county two terms, and for six years was marshall for the Supreme Court. Under Governor Folk's administration he was appointed Deputy Warden of the penitentiary, and died suddenly of apoplexy at Jefferson City, March 2, 1907, aged fifty-eight years.

COL. GEO. WOODWARD WARDER was born in Richmond, Missouri, May 20, 1848, a lineal descendant of Lord Fairfax, the first Colonial Governor of Virginia, and at the age of eighteen had been a student in the Missouri State University, had taught school, studied law, and was a practicing attorney in Chillicothe, Missouri.

In 1878 he moved to Kansas City where he became wealthy from real estate investments, at one time being rated at three quarters of a million dollars. In 1887 he built the Warder Grand Opera house, an unsuccessful venture which caused the loss of much of his wealth.

He was one of the founders of the state bar association in 1880, and a regular attendant at its annual meetings. He was also one of the original members of the Greenwood Club in Kansas City, and from the versatility of his knowledge and his readiness as a debator, was one of the most frequent participants in the discussions following the reading of papers at the meetings of the club. For years he had not missed attendance at any of its meetings.

He was the author of four volumes of poetry and seven of prose all of which are in the library of the State Historical Society. His royalties on these publications have sometimes amounted to as much as $200 per month.

Colonel George W. Warder, author, poet, traveler, scientist, delightful and eloquent speaker and lecturer, will be missed and mourned by his associates in club and organizations.

JUDGE JOHN W. WOFFORD was born in Habershan county, Georgia, August 14, 1837, of Scotch-Irish parentage. During the Civil War he was on the Confederate side and served in Lee's army under command of General William T. Wofford, of Georgia, and was wounded three times. He lived at Rome, Georgia, and at Cartersville, Georgia, where he was admitted to the bar. He was for several years a member of the Georgia Legislature, House and Senate, and was presidential elector of that state in 1876.

He came to Kansas City, Mo., in 1877, and practiced law until 1892, when he was appointed Judge of the Jackson Coun-

ty Criminal Court, and has ever since held the office by election. After much suffering from a severe ailment, during which he continued to discharge the duties of his office, he died February 25, 1907.

He was somewhat eccentric and was known throughout the whole country for the opinions held by him, and the positiveness of the expression of them in the course of proceedings in his court, and for his plans for the reformation of criminals brought before him, which among other distinguishing points was that of paroling prisoners, requiring them for a certain time to report to him, and helping them to make an honest living. The esteem in which he was held was shown by the fact that the funeral had to be delayed an hour to allow the crowds that came to file past the casket the crowd including the officials of Kansas City, the old citizens and persons in every condition of life, white and black, and including many members of his parole class, who appreciated the fact that he had been their friend, and had been anxious to help them to a higher life.

JUDGE HORATIO D. WOOD was born in Columbus, Ohio, October 8, 1841, of New England ancestry. While a child his parents moved to St. Louis, where he resided until his death, December 15, 1906.

During the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the Fourth Regiment U. S. Reserve Corps, Missouri Volunteers, and served in northeast and southwest Missouri until the expiration of his term of enlistment in August, 1861. Afterwards he was Captain and Commissary of Subsistence; was brevetted Major U. S. A. for faithful and meritorious service, and was mustered out of service October 9, 1865.

He studied law at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1866, and was admitted to the bar in St. Louis, where he practiced until 1896, when he was elected Judge of the St. Louis Circuit Court for a two year term, and re-elected for four years. After eight years in this office he again entered on the practice of law, and was a prominent member of the bar until the time of his death.

NOTES.

At St. Louis a bronze tablet has been placed at the former residence of General William Clark, under the auspices of the Missouri Historical Society and Civic League of the City, bearing the following inscription:

Here lived and died
William Clark
1770—1838
of the
Lewis and Clark Expedition
Soldier, Explorer, Territorial Governor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs
Erected September 23, 1906
The One Hundredth Anniversary of the
Return of the Expedition.

The address delivered at the unveiling of the tablet was by Dr. Rheuben Gold Thwaites, the well known Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in which he gave a sketch of the life and labors of this former citizen of Missouri and benefactor of his race.

Many of the states are actively working now to identify and locate permanently the exact spot upon which important historic events took place, and many such should be marked, not only in St. Louis, but also in other parts of the state.

The Legislature of Nebraska gave the Nebraska Historical Society $2,500 to pay the expenses of publishing the Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1871, and these have been issued as volume eleven of the State Historical Society publications. The preface gives an interesting account of the search for the minutes of the different consitu-

The New England Historic Genealogical Society which publishes it, calls upon its friends for donations for some eight different objects, varying from $5,000 to $120,000, in all about $250,000.

Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History for March begins its third volume. The most of the historical magazines are issued by Societies, but this is published by an individual in Indianapolis, who is doing good work for the history of that State.

Register of Kentucky State Historical Society commences its fifth volume with the January number. The State Legislature at its first appropriation for the Society gave it $5,000 per year, enabling it to not only publish its quarterly, but to build up the Society generally.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine issued at Charleston by the South Carolina Historical Society for January is almost entirely filled with matter relating to the Revolutionary War, and to the early settlers of that State.

The Washington Historical Quarterly for January has quite a number of papers of moderate length. It is issued by the Washington University State Historical Society at Seattle.

Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for January has more than one hundred pages giving an account of the Grogan celebration, the anniversary of the victory achieved by Major George Grogan over the British General Proctor, and the Indian Chief Tecumseh, it being the turning of the tide of the war of 1812.

Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society for March is issued in Philadelphia by a Society representing some eight or nine Presbyterian churces. The illustrated article on a year of Presbyterian church building in New York shows an expenditure of two and a half million dollars for seven church buildings in that city.

American Journal of Archaeology for January has one hundred and forty pages of papers, notes and bibliographies relating to the Archaeological Institute of America at Norwood, Masachusetts.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January has more than one hundred pages of the three leading articles. The Journal is issued by the State Historical Society at Iowa City. The April number has a valuable bibliography of the territorial documents of Iowa.

Annals of Iowa for January issued by the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines is in the seventh volume of the third series. Among other papers is an interesting one on the condition of the public archives of Iowa. A similar report on Missouri is being prepared by Dr. Viles, of the State University. The Annals has eleven full page illustrations. The number for April has also come to hand.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, commences its 31st volume with the January number. The Society has a publication fund of $40,000, the interest from which is used in publishing the magazine and the Memoirs of the Society. The fund was contributed by individuals in amounts of $25 and upwards.

The John Hopkins University Studies for January gives a history of internal taxation in the Philippines under Spanish rule and under American rule, by John S. Hord, Collector of Internal Revenue in the Islands.

The University of Colorado Studies for February has all but one of its papers relating to the economics, history and natural history of the State, one of the latter illustrated with two plates.

The Journal of American History of which the first and second numbers have been issued at New Haven is the largest of all the historical magazines, being the height of the American Historical Review but wider, 10 1-2 by 8 inches, and of nearly 200 pages. The arrangement and typography of the publication are so different from other historical magazines, that one must become somewhat accustomed to them before appreciating all their good points. The magazine is issued by the Associated publishers of American records and has many reproduc-

tions of rare prints and works of art, reprints of rare journals, diaries and documents, and each number has a full title page illumination in colors of some coat-of-arms of families of early settlers in America.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for April has journals of the Council of Virginia in executive sessions, 1737-1763, Virginia Colonial records, Virginia legislative papers, and various contributed articles. It is published by the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond.

German American Annals, the organ of three German Societies, for March and April has a twenty-five page article in German by Professor Otto Heller, of Washington University, St. Louis, and Bibliography of German Americana for the year 1906 by William G. Bek, a graduate of our State University, and author of a book noticed in this number of the Review.

BOOK NOTICES.

The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony Hermann, Missouri. William G. Bek. (Philadelphia, Americana Germanica Press, 1907. Pp. XI, 170. Plates 20.)

A new series of monographs under the above title, devoted to the comparative study of the literary, linguistic and other cultural relations of Germany and America is being published under the editorship of Professor Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The above volume, the fifth one of the series, has been prepared by an alumnus of our State University, and a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The author is now writing the history of the German Communistic Settlement in Shelby County, a history which the author thinks will be of even more interest than that of the settlement of Hermann.

In 1800 there were in Pennsylvania alone 150,000 Germans, and in 1836 a Society was organized there for the purpose of

establishing , preferably in the "Far West," a Society that should be purely German, that should as the author says, "enjoy both the advantages of America and the pleasures of the Fatherland!" The work gives in detail the organization of the Society, the purchase of land on the Missouri River, and the establishment of the Colony to which was given the name of Hermann. Its history is given while under the supervision of the Society in Philadelphia, its complete separation from the parent Society in 1839, the names of all the shareholders, and the details of education, government, industries, and religious, social and literary life.

The publication is one of the most important of the local histories of Missouri that has ever been issued, and is a credit not only to its author, but to his Alma Mater where he had the training that prepared him for the work of a historian.

F. A. S.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

OFFICERS.

E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Chairman.
Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary.

EDITORS.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville.
State Editor.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia.
Local Editor.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Owing to a variety of reasons the Department has not attempted to hold another meeting this spring although it had been suggested at Moberly that a biennial meeting might take place at Columbia on High School Day at the beginning of May. The difficulty of organizing a programme, the uncertainty of the attendance from outside, the absence from the state of our new Chairman, and other minor reasons made it seem inadvisable to call such a meeting at that time. The project of an additional meeting has not been abandoned, however, and it is hoped to arrange a joint meeting either next fall or next spring with the State Historical Society either at Columbia or elsewhere.

The attention of History Teachers in the state is again called to the desirability of having an official organ such as the Missouri Historical Review and they are strongly urged to support it and the State Historical Society by their subscriptions. The small sum of one dollar sent to Mr. F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo., will entitle the subscriber to membership in the Society and to the review for one year. We sincerely hope that all teach-

ers of history who are interested in their subject and in the history of the state of Missouri will avail themselves of this offer.

It is interesting to note that the recent annual report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools contains three of the excellent papers presented at the Moberly meeting, namely, Superintendent O'Rear's paper on "History in the Grades," Professor Rullkoetter's on "History in the College," and Professor Lewis' on "The Normal School Course in History." The publication of these papers in such a widely circulated work as the State Superintendent's Report will do good to the cause of history in the state and is to be much commended. It is much to be regretted that a similar paper discussing the High School Course of Study was not submitted and then published, as the question is a live and important one.

At the recent meeting of the North Central History Teachers Association, held at Chicago March 29-30, this state was well represented by Mr. Lewis, Central High School, Kansas City, Dr. Pooley, Normal School, Kirksville, and Professor Trenholme, University of Missouri. The two last named were on the programme, Dr. Pooley delivering a paper on "Causes for Immigration during the Period 1830-1850" and Professor Trenholme one on "Research Methods in the Study of English History," a portion of which is printed in this number of the Review. The meetings of the Association were held in the theater and large lecture hall of the well known "settlement" of Hull House which gave added interest and pleasure to those present. The president of the Association, Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, opened the proceedings Friday afternon by calling on Miss Jane Addams, the head of Hull House, to discuss the topic of "The Influence of the Foreign Population on the Teaching of History and Civics." Miss Addams in her address spoke of the new duties and obligations imposed on American educators by the large foreign element in the schools and made a plea for greater breadth and sympathy in dealing with the children of old world countries.

In the course of her address she introduced a number of interesting illustrations of the effect of American conditions on foreigners and of the survival of old world sentiments in foreign communities in Chicago. Miss Addams was followed by Professor Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal, Terre Haute, by Mr. Wm. Radebaugh, of the Daniel Webster School, Chicago, and by Professor Karl F. Geiser, of the Iowa State Normal, Cedar Falls. These gentlemen discussed different phases of the problem from various aspects but there seemed to be no unanimity of opinion as to the influence, if any, that the foreign population had exercised on the teaching of History and Civics. After the speakers on the programme had concluded there was some additional discussion on the part of Chicago teachers in the audience and some good points were made. The tendency was, however, to get away from the question of influence on teaching and to discuss how the foreign element should be made American and what aspect of History and Civics it was most advisable to emphasize in the grades and in High School work. One teacher of experience expressed the opinion that the simpler aspects of English and American popular representative government should be chiefly emphasized when teaching foreigners History and Civics as a preparation for good citizenship and this seemed to commend itself to most of those who were present. The discussion ended about five-thirty and a short intermission followed during which members became better acquainted with each other. At six the Association sat down to a very pleasant repast in the dining room of Hull House and afterwards inspected the settlement building.

The evening session was held in Bowen Hall, the large lecture room of Hull House, and an audience of some two hundred listened to a very able and practical address on "The Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges" delivered by Professor Edward Channing, of Harvard University. Professor Channing dealt with his subject in a manner calculated to commend his address to the teachers present emphasizing the need of interesting students in the history of their country and of bringing out the deeper factors in Ameri-

can History. He deprecated the too great attention often paid to military history and especially to the colonial and revolutionary wars and advised his hearers to seek to cover as much as possible of the constitutional period in the High School. Professor Channing's whole paper was helpful and interesting to teachers and showed him to be a master of the problems connected with the treatment of American History in high schools and colleges.

The third and last session of the Association was held in the theater of Hull House on Saturday morning, March 30th. A business meeting first took place at which after some reports and discussions the election of officers for 1907-8 was held. Professor George C. Sellery, of the University of Wisconsin was elected President and a representative from Missouri was placed on the Executive Committee in the person of Professor N. M. Trenholme, of the University of Missouri. At the conclusion of the business meeting the programme of papers for the morning was taken up the general topic being "Some Results of Research Work with Special Emphasis on Methods Employed." The first paper by Dr. W. V. Pooley was a full and interesting discussion of the "Causes for Immigration during the Period 1830-1850" and showed careful and conscientious study of sources and material. This paper was followed by a very clear and interesting exposition of "The Relations between the Continental Congress and the States" by Professor C. H. Van Tyne, of the University of Michigan. The programme of the morning was closed by an address on "Research Methods in English History" by Professor N. M. Trenholme who illustrated his remarks by reading the opening chapter of his forthcoming study on "The English Monastic Boroughs." The Association then adjourned the members all being of the opinion that the sessions had been thoroughly enjoyable and profitable. It is to be hoped that the meeting next spring will be equally as well attended.

The History Department of the Normal School at Kirksville is rejoicing in the recent acquisition of a "reflectoscope," an instrument by means of which photographs, pictures, etc.,

can be reflected on a screen just as if they were lantern slides. The history men at Kirksville have developed the use of the lantern in history teaching further than at any other institution in the state and deserve great credit for their work along this line. It is understood that Professor Violette will teach at Kirksville during the coming summer term and a strong list of history courses will be offered. Mr. Vaughn is planning to spend the summer in graduate work in the east.

The appointment of Mr. Mac Anderson to the position in History and Economics at the Springfield Normal has recently been announced and we congratulate Mr. Anderson on his excellent position. Mr. Anderson is an A. B. of the University of Missouri and has taught history in the Columbia High School, at the Cape Girardeau Normal, and at Missouri Valley College. He has also specialized largely in Economics and will no doubt develop that side of the work of his department.

Mr. C. C. Eckhardt, who has been on leave of absence at Cornell completing the work for the Ph. D. degree, returns to his work in Modern History at the University of Misosuri next fall. Dr. C. C. Crawford, who has been substituting for Mr. Eckhardt, has accepted an instructorship at a higher salary at the University of Kansas, where he had his undergraduate course. Professor Viles has accepted an invitation to give the course on American History in the Harvard Summer school this coming summer. It is probable that another assistant will have to be appointed for next year on account of the greatly increased enrollment in History and the prospects for still more students in 1907-8.

Mr. S. D. Gromer, Instructor in History and Economics in the University of Missouri, has recently been offered the excellent position of Treasurer of the Island of Porto Rico at a salary of $5,000 and an official residence. Mr. Gromer was recommended for the position to President Roosevelt by Senator Warner, of this state, and after an interview with the President was formally tendered the place. He has provisionally accepted the appointment and expects to enter on his new

duties about the middle of June. Mr. Gromer is a man of fine training and ability and will undoubtedly make an excellent official. We congratulate him on the recognition he has received.

Amongst the new works in history of special interest to teachers we notice the following: "Provisional Report on a Course of Study in History" by a Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association; an attempt to lay out a suitable course in history for the grades. This report will be reviewed in our next number. Elson "History of the United States of America," Macmillan Co.; an interesting one volume history, a notice of which will appear in our next number; and Fling "A Source Book of Greek History," Heath & Co., which will supply a long felt want in a portion of the ancient field and which will also be reviewed in our next.

Among the interesting articles in the historical reviews we notice in the April number of the American Historical Review the account of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence, and special articles on colonial and United States topics by E. P. Cheyney, C. H. Van Tyne, W. H. Isely and J. A. Woodburn, besides a number of interesting documents and book reviews and notices. In the English Historical Review there are articles of merit on "Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland" and "England and the Ostend Company." The best article, however, is a ten page appreciation of Professor Frederic William Maitland, whose death last December was a most severe loss to historical scholarship, by Professor Paul Vinogradoff, in which is clearly set forth those qualities of Maitland's work that made him so successful an historian. A series of interesting and important Notes and Documents, and a number of Reviews and book notices complete the contents of the Review.

The Division of History and Political Sciences, comprising the Departments of History, Economics, Political Science and Public Law, and Sociology, of the University of Missouri

has brought out an extensive special announcement of courses for the coming year. This announcement shows the remarkable growth in the political and social sciences at the university as it contains the names of eleven men giving instruction in these fields and announcements of no less than seventy separate courses in the various departments of the Division of History and Political Sciences. Of these seventy courses, twenty-eight are offered in History, exclusive of courses in Ancient History given by the Greek and Latin departments. The special announcement can be obtained from the University Publisher, Columbia, Mo.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF RESEARCH METHODS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

(A paper read before the North Central History Teachers' Association, 1907, by Professor N. M. Trenholme, University of Missouri.)

It has always seemed to me that American students possess undoubted advantages for the study of and research into problems connected with the political, institutional, and social development of the English people. This is particularly true indeed, for the period previous to and including the Puritan revolution of the seventeenth century for up to that time the history of England is the history of the forefathers and remoter kinsman of many of us. Then again our institutions are so largely founded on those of England, our law is based on English common law, our form of government follows the English, and our speech, our home organization, and our society in general come closer to being English than to being anything else. It is, therefore, exceedingly natural and logical that American students should take up in a sympathetic and understanding manner many of the problems of the history of England and should handle them with success, winning the approbation of Englishmen as a result of their work. In fact a well trained American student of English History has perhaps some advantages over the British born as he is possessed of better historical perspective and can view the events of the past both sympathetically and impartially on account of

his Anglo Saxon blood and his absolute divorce from the British monarchy.

It is not, indeed, too much to say that next to the history of their own country American students take most kindly to the history of England. The way is neither difficult nor thorny for the great mass of secondary literature is in English, with a few German works of note, by men like Schmidt, Liebermann, Gneist, Pauli, and Ranke, and still fewer French. There are many sources in English and the rest, in medieval Latin, English-French or Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Saxon, present but slight difficulties to the aspiring student. As a result of the attraction offered by this field more and more of our graduate schools are developing their Englsh history courses and more and more students are following out lines of research in English institutional history. More masters' theses and doctors' theses in English history are constantly being prepared and new light cast on obscure features of English political, social, and institutional development.

If one glances back over the production of American historical scholarship and research during the last thirty years attention will at once be drawn to the notable contributions made to English history. Beginning in the seventies we have the famous "Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law" prepared by a group of brilliant and hard working young Harvard men under the direction of Professor Henry Adams. From among the Johns Hopkins studies we have Andrews' scholarly study of "The Old English Manor;" from the older Wisconsin circle came the valuable contributions to English local history of the late Professor W. B. Allen; from Nebraska emanated Professor George Howard's study of "The King's Peace;" Professor Charles Gross, a graduate of Williams College, produced the first draft of his "Gild Merchant" as a Berlin doctor's thesis and a few years later published his larger work. Studies such as these, to mention but a few, led the way, more and more have followed until now to think of research in English history is to recall a host of valuable studies by young American students who have been trained to their work by masters of research and

have sought to imitate their teachers in thoroughness of scholarship.

Opportunities for research work in English History in this country are becoming greater and greater with the growth of special collections in our great libraries. The most complete collection of research material for English History in this country is undoubtedly to be found in and around Boston, in the Boston Public Library, which is especially strong in English local history, and at the Harvard College Library, which is splendidly equipped with both sources and secondary works. There is good material also at Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and Cornell in the east, and at Chicago and Wisconsin, in particular, in the west, while other universities, such as Michigan and Nebraska, have comparatively large collections for work in English history. In fact there are few of the larger institutions offering courses leading to the masters' and doctor's degrees that do not have sufficient material to justify the selection of a thesis subject for the higher degrees in English history.

The present writer confesses a close personal interest in the question of research work and methods in English history as he has not only followed out two or three modest topics himself but has guided a number of students along similar lines in the preparation of theses for the master's degree in history. It was in fact with the hope of possibly stimulating research interest in this field and making clear some of the methods to be used by students that he accepted the assignment of this paper. An attempt will, therefore, be made to show how a problem in English history should be attacked and worked out to a satisfactory conclusion and to give a more concrete aspect to the discussion the writer will take a study of "The English Monastic Towns," upon which he is at present engaged, as the basis of his remarks.

The selection of a research topic is probably easier in connection with English history than many people suppose for there are so very many interesting questions, especially of an institutional character, entirely unworked or only half worked out by English historians of the past. In the case of the Eng-

lish Monastic Towns it was found that as a class they had practically been neglected and that no writer on English municipal history had troubled himself about them. The investigator's first work, therefore, was to compile as complete a list as possible of the towns or boroughs under monastic lordship and then having arranged these towns by counties to compile a beginning bibliography of material upon which to work. This material had to be arranged under two heads:

1. **General**—Relating to the monastic towns as a whole and their status and development.

2. **Special**—Relating to the individual towns and their history and institutions.

Material of a general sort was soon found to be lacking outside of the work of a few writers like Stubbs, Maitland, Thompson and Mrs. J. R. Green's. Material of a special sort, on the other hand, was found to be most plentiful in the shape of county and borough histories, abbey chronicles, records of suits between monasteries and towns, and many miscellaneous sources of information. A fairly large bibliography was then made and with this as a guide research work proper began. The method of note taking pursued was that practically universal among research students, namely the loose leaf system by which a separate sheet of paper is used for each note the title of the source being given in the upper left hand corner and the subject of the note in the upper right hand—the center can be used conveniently for the date. This system has distinct advantages over any other particularly in connection with classifying and arranging notes and has been strongly recommended by Langlois and Seignobos in their excellent manual on historical method entitled "An Introduction to the Study of History," a book which all serious students of history should read carefully at least once. It can be had in a fairly good English translation, with a valuable preface by the late Professor York-Powell. The process of note taking and

note arranging is long and laborious and constitutes the major part of ordinary research work. It calls for the exercise of certain qualities of judgment, selection, and criticism, and affords valuable training to the student. As the work of collecting material advances clearer ideas as to the research topic and its limitations naturally develop and the investigator is inevitably led to draw up some definite plan of treatment for his subject.

The first material to be worked over by the research student is the printed matter relating to his subject of both a secondary and source character. In connection with the speaker's own topic this consisted for the most part of county and town histories, local records in print, biographies of leading abbots, and various other sources of information in regard to the monastic towns. Full use was made of the source material available in the Harvard and Boston libraries and a doctoral dissertation was prepared as a result of these researches into printed sources of information. Soon afterwards, however, the opportunity to go abroad was presented and nearly a year was spent in further research in the British Museum Library and at the Public Record Office. Additional secondary material was found and new printed sources as well, but the most valuable work was done in connection with manuscript material found in the different repositories. Many new facts were obtained from unprinted record books, registers, plea rolls, petitions and other mediaeval records and as a result a much more complete and accurate picture of the monastic towns as a class can be drawn.

Having collected material sufficient for the purposes of exposition the next task is exposition itself. This is a very difficult part of research work and some students do not get further than the collection of the material, but if research work is to mean anything the results of investigation should be clearly and fully set forth. Time will not permit of any detailed discussion of exposition as a part of research work but the student ought to realize that what he writes should be clear and intelligible to those not intimately acquainted with his narrow field of work and should avoid a too factual or technical treatment of his topic. He must also

be careful not to overlook new contributions of importance in connection with his topic which may have appeared while he has been engaged in his exposition but which critics could reasonably expect him to take notice of. Nothing is more mortifying to a research worker than to be charged with lack of diligence or with culpable oversight of material.

In this brief introductory address I have tried in part to meet the requirements laid down by the general subject heading of "Some Results of Research Work with Special Emphasis on the Methods Employed" and I shall now complete my task by reading the opening chapter of the study in the English Monastic Towns upon which I have been basing a large part of these remarks.

The speaker then read a short paper dealing with the topic of the "English Monastic Boroughs" and their origins and classification as an illustration of the character of the research work upon which he had recently been engaged.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Outlines of Ancient History. By William C. Morey, Ph. D., D. C. L., Professor of History and Political Science, University of Rochester. (American Book Co., New York, 1906. Pp. 550.)

In the last few years so many text-books have appeared covering the Ancient Period that one is under the necessity of asking "why another"? Any one of these works usually shows some marked features of improvement making it useful as a text or for supplementary reading. This volume of Professor Morey's is no exception to the rule. The maps, illustration and references for reading are the especially strong points about this work. The maps do "indicate in outline the most important changes in the geographical history of the Ancient World." The illustrations are historical in their nature and not merely for show. The references for reading are given in clear form and in most places are not too numerous to become confusing—but would it not be better to separate source references from secondary ones? The fuller bibliography in the

appendix is also a commendable feature, though an occasional mistake is found in this list (e. g. "Broughton" for "Boughton").

In other respects than the above this text book shows no really distinctive characteristics. There is the usual and somewhat arbitrary manner of dealing with the Oriental peoples. For illustration (p. 32, "Egyptian Society and Government") "The highest offices of the state were held by priests who were exempted form all taxes and held the best parts of the land." The high school student will, in most cases, it is feared, take it that this statement holds good for all periods of Egyptian history. There are many instances of this kind not only with regard to the Oriental peoples but also in dealing with the Greeks and the Romans.

The main body of the text, on the Greeks and Romans, seems for the most part, like the portion on the Orient, to be based on secondary and even third hand material; hence whether taken from the author's own "Outlines of Greek History" or "Outlines of Roman History" or other works of like nature, the narrative has the tendency to become not only dry but untrustworthy at times. This is not nearly so noticeable in connection with the Roman period as earlier.

Finally, it might be said, that from the standpoint of an increasingly large number of teachers the heavy type paragraph headings and the noticeable lack of dates at the beginning of chapters are faults and are distinctly unpedagogical. It is the writer's conclusion that, taking all things into consideration, Professor Morey's new text is merely an average production. E. F.

History of Ancient Civilization. By Charles Seignobos, Doctor of Letters of the University of Paris. Translated and edited by Arthur Herbert Wilde, Professor of History, Northwestern University, with an introduction by James Alton James, Ph. D., Professor of History, Northwestern University. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906.)

Teachers of history will extend a hearty welcome to this translation of Professor Seignobos' work on ancient civiliza-

tion, the more so as this volume is the first of three, the others dealing with medieval civilization and contemporary civilization respectively. Professors Wilde and James have done an excellent piece of work not only in planning this series but also in seeing that the plan materializes in scholarly form. Two often American scholars have taken their translating and editorial duties too lightly and confided the translation to incompetent persons so that the result has been unfair to the original work. In the present case no such charge can be made as the translating and editing, for which Professor Wilde deserves great credit, are all that one could possibly ask for. In fact the general arrangement and get-up of the book is admirable in every way.

After a brief, clear treatment of pre-historic times and the problems they present the author passes to history proper and discusses the materials of history, the so-called periods, the sources for the history of ancient civilization, and the races and peoples of ancient times. Then follow a series of most readable and stimulating chapters on the Oriental peoples in which the various aspects of the civilization of Egypt, Assyria, India, Persia, Phoenicia, and Palestine are described and discussed. The remainder of the volume is occupied with the Greeks and Romans the former being given eight chapters and the latter eleven. The treatment of the civilization of Ancient Greece is particularly clear and interesting though at times Professor Seignobos makes somewhat sweeping general statements and in order to enliven his narrative he frequently quotes the stock legends and ancedotes of ancient history. This is also true of the Roman though in the main a critical spirit is displayed, as in the case of the early Roman kings and the stories about them, and emphasis is laid on the more solid aspects of history rather than on the surface events. The amount of attention given to the fundametnal instituions of society, the family, the home, the city, the state and so forth make this work particularly valuable for reference reading—by high school teachers and students in connection with the ordinary outline of Ancient History in the first year of the high school.

MISSOURI

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GLIMPSES OF OLD MISSOURI BY EXPLORERS AND TRAVELERS. *

The first visit of white men to Missouri was only a half century after the discovery of America, and it was not made then for the purpose of settlement or trade, but to find the mythical treasures of gold and precious stones and of rich cities, which were at that time believed to exist. Ferdinand de Soto, with a band of adventurous followers, in May, 1539, landed in Florida and began his march to the interior—a march that was not yet ended when he died three years later. After nearly two years of toiling and fighting and disappointments, he discovered the Mississippi, and making rafts crossed it, probably at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs. He continued his journey northward until he came somewhere in the neighbor-

* Read before the State Historical Society at its first annual meeting, 1901.

hood of New Madrid, when he turned again westward and southward. He still had found no gold, no gems, no cities; instead of these there were swamps, and forests, and prairies, and those of Missouri did not again see a white man for one hundred and thirty-one years.

In May, 1673, Joliet and Marquette accompanied by five Frenchmen started from Mackinaw in two canoes, to explore the Mississippi, rumors concerning which had been reported by Marquette in the "Jesuit Relations," some three years before. One month later they discovered and entered the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin and floated down to the mouth of the Arkansas.

Marquette's account of the trip is in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1781. He mentions buffalo, deer, swans, the mouth of the Missouri, which he called Pekitanoui, Grand Tower, and the mouth of the Ohio. Joliet wrote an account also, but by accident it was lost. He wrote another from memory, and this was given in abstract by Hennepin in one of his volumes. The accounts of each were also published in the "Jesuit Relations."

La Salle in February, 1682, started on a trip down the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois, and explored it to its mouth, giving the name of Louisiana to the country. During his journey he slept at least one night on the Missouri side, and it is sometimes stated that he was the first white man to do so with the possible exception of De Soto. I do not, however, know of any evidence to show that Joliet and Marquette did not sleep on the west side of the river when they were upon it.

Hennepin was with La Salle on his expedition, and published an account in Paris in 1688, later editions having much added that was not true. His book has been published in several languages, and in twenty-four editions Several other members of the party also published reports of the trip.

Baron le Hontan was, if his claims are true, the first to explore the Missouri. He wrote in "New Voyages to North America," that he entered the mouth of the river in March,

1689, reached the first village of Missouris the next day, and the second one on the day following. Three leagues from this village, at the mouth of the Osage, they encamped. There he had a skirmish with the Indians, afterwards destroyed one of their villages, and returned to the mouth of the river. His account is not thought to be entirely trustworthy.

In 1703 a party of twenty set out from Illinois to go up the Missouri river, and on to New Mexico, but the result of the expedition has not been preserved. After 1703 an expedition was sent up the Osage, and in 1719 Dutigne went as far as Kansas. This activity on the part of the French alarmed the Spaniards, so that in 1719 they organized an expedition to go from Sante Fe to Missouri, and there join with the Osages in destroying the Missouris, whom they believed to be under the influence of the French, and to establish a military post on the Missouri. For this purpose full preparations were made, including the establishment of a permanent colony. The account which is the fullest and supposed to be the most correct is by Dumont in his "Historic Memoirs of Louisiana," published in 1753. He states that he was a member of a party to ascend the Arkansas in search of emeralds, and that the commander of it received letters and orders from M. de Bienville, and that in the letters was the account of the matter as given by him. The caravan was composed of fifteen hundred men, women and children, including the soldiers and a chaplain, and having a great number of horses, cattle, and farming implements. The map of the route they were to take was not nearly enough correct, or they did not properly observe it, as they were unknowingly led into a village of the Missouris instead of the Osages. The commander believing that he was among the latter, told the plan that he had laid out, and offered to join them in destroying their enemies, the Missouris. The chief saw the mistake that the Spaniards had made, but he pretended to agree to the plan, and asked for delay to collect his warriors, and for arms to give them. His request was granted, and when enough warriors were collected together, they fell upon the caravan, and killed all except the chaplain. At that time these Indians had never seen

a horse, and they found sport in making the chaplain ride for their amusement; finally he made his escape by galloping off from the camp, and making his way to a settlement of whites.

Perkins in his "Annals" claims that it was the Pawnees instead of the Osages. The place of the massacre is given by some authors as in the eastern part of Kansas, while others believe that it was in Saline county, Missouri, and if this is true, the relics obtained from that county by Mr. C. C. Clay of Sedalia may have been the remains of that caravan.

And now passing by expeditions for more than forty years, we come to the time when the trade of the north and northwest was granted to Maxent, Laclede & Co., who in 1763 sent out a party under command of Pierre Laclede Ligueste, better known by his middle name of Laclede, to establish a permanent post. At this time the country east of the Mississippi had been ceded to the English, while on the west side there was only one village, that of Ste. Genevieve, and this had no buildings in it large enough to store the goods which had been brought. The commander of the fort of de Chartres offered to give room for storing until the English should arrive to take possession, which offer was accepted, while Laclede examined all the ground from the fort to the mouth of the Missouri, selecting finally the present site of St. Louis. The beauty of the site and the advantages of the location so pleased him that he predicted that it would become "one of the finest cities in America." In the early spring of 1764 Auguste Chouteau was sent with a party to build cabins and prepare the place for occupation, and from that time dates the founding of the city of St. Louis, there being but one older place in the state, Ste. Genevieve, which was founded before this time though the exact date is not known. In October, 1765, the governor removed to St. Louis, and it became the seat of government for the district. De Neyon was then in command of Upper Louisiana, which to this time went by the name of Illinois.

The account of this expedition and of the settlement of St. Louis was written by Chouteau, his original manuscript

in French ,being yet in the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, which had it translated and published in 1858.

The foregoing will for the present suffice for the French and Spanish explorers, though I have not by any means named all of them, and the number of books that have been published giving the accounts of these travels and explorations is quite large—much larger than we are apt to think until we have investigated the matter.

Of the English travels under Spanish rule, I will mention one only—H. M. Brackenridge, a native of Pittsburg, whose father determined to send him, when a small boy, to Ste. Genevieve, to be placed in a French family that he might learn the French language. His book does not fix definitely the time of his trip, but it was probably about 1794, and was made by boat to New Madrid, then a small Spanish military post. He remained there a couple of weeks, when the party he was with started on horseback for Ste. Genevieve, he having a small pony. There being no houses on the way they carried provisions and blankets with them. They passed through a village of "Shawanese" Indians, and after a week or ten days travel reached Ste. Genevieve. The curate was the only one in the village who could speak English. The costume of the place was "a blue cotton handkerchief on the head, one corner thereof descending behind and partly covering the eel skin which bound the hair; a check shirt; coarse linen pantaloons on the hips; and the Indian sandal, or moccasin, the only covering to the feet worn here by both sexes." A quarter of a mile from the town was a village of Kickapoo Indians.

Lewis and Clark's expedition from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean was the first government exploration west of the Mississippi, and was performed in 1804-5-6. The most valuable account of it is contained in a four volume edition by Coues, issued by Francis P. Harper in 1893, and in which the editor gives an extended bibliograhpy of the several publications relating to the expedition, numbering forty or fifty different imprints, without exhausting them as my library contained one not mentioned by him.

This expedition was planned by President Jefferson and placed in command of two young army officers, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, one of whom afterwards became governor of the Territory of Louisiana, and the other of the Territory of Missouri. It consisted of forty-five persons, and after wintering on the east side of the Mississippi river opposite the mouth of the Missouri, broke camp on the 14th of May, 1804. Of St. Charles, better known to the French as Petite Cote, the journal of the expedition says, "One principal street, about a mile in length and running parallel with the river, divides the town, which is composed of nearly one hundred small wooden houses, besides a chapel. The inhabitants, about four hundred and fifty in number, are chiefly descendants of the French of Canada. In their manners they unite all the careless gayety and amiable hospitality of the best times of France. Yet, like most of their countrymen in America they are ill qualified for the rude life of the frontier—not that they are without talent, for they possess much genius, and vivacity; not that they are destitute of enterprise, for their hunting excursions are long, laborious and hazardous; but their exertions are all desultory; their industry is without system and without perseverence. The surrounding country, therefore, though rich, is not generally well cultivated; the inhabitants chiefly subsist by hunting and trade with the Indians, and confine their culture to gardening, in which they excel."

At this time La Charette, then or soon afterwards the residence of Daniel Boone, consisted of ten small houses, and was the last settlement of whites on the Missouri.

Of the Osage Indians the following interesting account is given: "Among the peculiarities of this people, there is nothing more remarkable than the tradition relative to their origin. According to universal belief, the founder of the nation was a snail passing a quiet existence along the banks of the Osage, till a high flood swept him down to the Missouri, and left him exposed on the shore. The heat of the sun at length ripened him into a man; but with the change of his nature he had not forgotten his native seat on the

Osage, toward which he immediately bent his way. He was, however, soon overtaken by hunger and fatigue, when happily the Great Spirit appeared, and giving him a bow and arrow, showed him how to kill and cook deer, and cover himself with the skin. He then proceeded to his original residence, but as he aproached the river, he was met by a beaver, who inquired haughtily who he was, and by what authority he came to disturb his possession. The Osage answered that the river was his own, for he had once lived on its borders. As they stood disputing, the daughter of the beaver came, and having by her entreaties reconciled her father to this young stranger, it was proposed that the Osage should marry the young beaver, and share with her family the enjoyment of the river. The Osage readily consented, and from this happy union there soon came the village and nation of the Wabasha, or Osages, who have ever since preserved a pious reverence for their ancestors, abstaining from the chase of the beaver, because in killing that animal they killed a brother of the Osage. Of late years, however, since the trade with the whites has rendered beaver-skins more valuable, the sanctity of these maternal relatives has visibly reduced, and the poor animals have nearly lost all their privileges of kindred."

The journal of Patrick Gass, a sergeant in the expedition, is not very full, but frequent comments are made on the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of game, including deer and bear; the Osage Indians were stated to be "of large size, well proportioned and very warlike." Above the Nodaway they passed two former French settlements, one of which had been a fort, but they were now deserted.

Other government expeditions were under command of Major Z. M. Pike, one during the years 1805 and 1806, and another in 1806 and 1807. The first was from St. Louis to the sources of the Mississippi, and the account of the Missouri part of the trip is taken up with the mention of rivers, bluffs and towns which he passed, the kind and amount of game killed, the distance traveled, and the Indians

the river, viz: the large east fork, the middle one (up which we ascended), and the northern one, all winding round and past the villages, giving the advantages of wood and water—and at the same time, the extensive prairies crowned with rich and luxuriant flowers—gently diversified by the rising swells, and sloping lawns—presented to the warm imagination the future seats of husbandry, the numerous herds of domestic animals, which are no doubt destined to crown with joy those happy plains."

About twenty miles above the Chouteau fort site they were stopped by drifts, and the boats were unloaded and the goods transported by horses to the village. The bulk of the Osages were warriors or hunters, these terms being synonymous; the remainder were divided into two cclasses, cooks and doctors, the latter being also priests and magicians. Pike attended a performance by these magicians. "They commenced the tragic-comedy, by putting a large butcher knife down their throats, the blood appearing to run during the operation very naturally; the scene was continued by putting sticks through the nose, swallowing bones and taking them ont at the nostrils, &c. At length one fellow demanded of me what I would give if he ran a stick through his tongue, and let another person cut off the piece. I replied, "a shirt." He then apparently performed his promise, with great pain, forcing the stick through his tongue, and then giving a knife to a bystander who appeared to cut off the piece, which he held to the light, for the satisfaction of the audience; and then joined it to his tongue; and by a magical charm healed the wound immediately. On demanding of me what I thought of the performance, I replied I would give him twenty shirts if he would let me cut the piece from his tongue: this disconcerted him a good deal, and I was sorry I made the observation."

Their camp was equidistant from the Great Osage and the Little Osage villages, these being six miles apart, and ruled by different chiefs. From here they continued their journey to the west and on the route from the Missouri river settlements to the vicinity of the villages they found deer,

then the elk, then the buffalo, then the cabrie or antelope. The first one of the latter was killed about one hundred and fifteen miles beyond the Osage villages, and past the limits of Missouri.

Thomas Ashe, an Englishman, in 1806 traveled for the purpose of exploring the Mississippi and other western rivers and ascertaining the products and condition of the country. Like many other travelers he noticed the fact that the Missouri rather than the Mississippi was the principal river and that it was always muddy and faster flowing.

In his account are a number of names that differ from the usual ones; the Missouri is the Messauri, Cape Girardeau is Cape Jarido, Kansas is Kanous, the nickname of St. Louis, Pain Cone is probably a misprint for Pain Court, and New Madrid is Lance le Gras.

Of the Indians on the Osage he says:

"The Osage nation of Indians reside on the banks of a river of the same name, eighty leagues from where it enters the Messauri on the right. They consist of about one thousand warriors, of a gigantic stature, being seldom under six feet, and frequently between six and seven in height. They are accused of being a cruel and ferocious race, and are feared and hated by all the other Indian tribes. From the mouth of the Messauri to that of the Osage river is computed eighty leagues. The river Kanous empties in about sixty leagues farther up on the same side, and eighty leagues up it reside the Kanous nation consisting of about three hundred warriors."

When he landed on the Louisiana shore at St. Louis, he saw but one house, and there he was courteously received, the place being a tavern. When Louisiana belonged to Spain the Spanish owners of the land held it at $20 to $100 per acre, but after the transfer to the United States they offered it for one dollar or even less, per acre.

Of Ste. Genevieve he says:

Ste. Genevieve was once principally inhabited by Spaniards; a disgust to the American connection has driven them nearly all off; but their manners and habits remain with

the French settlers, who originally resided among them. Hence I have heard the guitar resound soon after sun-set, with the complaints and amorous tales of the village swains, and heard the same hand, which toiled all day in the wilderness and in the waste, strike tender notes of love in the evening. The custom seemed to pervade all ranks. Nearly every house had its group, and every group its guitar, fidler, story-teller, or singer. As the evening advanced and the heat diminished, walking commenced, and towards midnight the music of the village united, the little world crowded to the spot and danced with infinite gaiety and mirth till past one in the morning. The waltz had most favorites; the **Pas de deaux** next, and the Fandango was the favorite of the few remaining Spaniards of the village."

At that time St. Louis had three hundred houses and eighteen hundred inhabitants, which included two hundred negro slaves. He thought that it had been demoralized by the occupation of the Americans, but the gambling of all kinds of which he complains, at least was not mainly due to them.

Christian Schultz, on a voyage through various states and territories, reached Louisiana, at the mouth of the Ohio, in October, 1807. In comparing his statement with that of Ashe, in regard to the size of St. Louis, we are reminded of the fact that care must be exercised in accepting statements of writers as to facts observed by them. This author gave the number of houses in St. Louis as two hundred, while Ashe stated two years before that there were three hundred. The inhabitants were principally French, and there not being enough Americans to have a church of their own, they had the Catholic priest lecture for them in his chapel every Sunday evening. The forts and barracks which had been strongly fortified by the Spaniards, were still occupied by the garrison, and considerable settlements had been made for some hundreds of miles along the Missouri river. Schultz left St. Louis to visit the lead mines seventy-two miles away, and after very frequently losing his way, returned to St. Louis, and got a guide. The daggers and pistols, broils and

quarrels of the miners were not to his liking, and he went from them to Ste. Genevieve, to which place, fifty-four miles away there was a good road, but in which distance there was but one solitary cabin. Of that town he said:

"The French use a little kind of cart, to which they harness two horses, one before the other, and drive altogether without reins. The blacksmith, carpenter, the tailor, were the only tradesmen employed at this place; all the other necessaries and conveniences of life are procured by importation, at an enormous expense. The majority of the French at this place are almost as easily supplied as the native Indians; neither of them use any hat or shoes; a pair of mockasons and a blanket seem equally common to both, except that the former will cut his into the shape of a coat, whereas the latter always prefers his loose."

"Ste. Genevieve does not seem to be in want of amusements, if eternal gambling and dancing deserve that name. One ball follows another so closely in succession, that I have often wondered how the ladies were enabled to support themselves under this violent exercise, which is here carried to extremes. The balls generally open at candle-light, and continue till ten or twelve o'clock the next day." "Whenever there is a ball given by even the most rigid and superstitious of these Catholics, there is always one room set apart for gambling. Vint-un is the word: and never did I see people embark with so much spirit and perseverence to win each others money, as in this little village. * * Exclusive of these frequent opportunities to indulge their favorite propensities, they have meetings thrice a week for no other purpose than playing their favorite game."

Sunday in the French settlements was a day of general amusements rather than of worship. High mass was performed every Sunday morning lasting half an hour. There was no general cessation of labor, no kind of work or amusement being suspended on account of the day, there being commonly a ball in the evening, and the billiard rooms always crowded."

Among the ludicrous events he gives the following:

"I must not omit entertaining you with a ludicrous circumstance which befell myself on the first day of the new year, which with the Catholics is a day of great festivity and rejoicing. It seems they have a custom for persons who meet on that day to kiss each other. The negro kisses his mistress, and the master kisses his wenches. Yet no one could account for so strange a custom, although it probably is intended as a token of reconciliation, and forgetfulness of all past animosities. It was on the new year, that finding every person arrayed in his best, I thought I could not better please my landlady, who is a rigid Catholic, than by conforming to the fashion. I had accordingly just made some previous arrangements, and had my face well lathered in order to commence the operation of shaving, when I was suddenly seized by the neck and kissed. After the first salutation I was able to move my head a little on one side, and found I was surrounded by eight Pioras Indians, all dressed in their best, who came up in regular succession, and kissed me so completely, that I had not an atom of lather remaining on my face. These poor creatures, knowing that the vicar-general had taken his lodgings at this house, came, it seems, to pay him the compliments of the season; when, finding me dressed in black, without more ado they fell to kissing me; and falling on their knees, expected my blessing, without my being able to explain their mistake. In fact the ceremony proceeded so rapidly, that it was pretty well over before I had recovered from my surprise. But as they still continued on their knees, I thought it would spoil the farce not to go through with the whole, and accordingly for the first time followed the trade I had served a regular apprenticeship to, by giving them my blessing, with a "Domine vobiscum, &c.," and afterwards treated them with a bottle of whiskey, which I soon discovered they thought the better blessing of the two.

The vicar-general, on his return, was so well pleased with the joke, as likewise having escaped their greasy kisses, that he volunteered a bottle of the best from his own stores.

These Indians are part of the remnant of the Pioras tribe, and consist of about twelve families, who are all Catholics, and, from their inability to defend or protect themselves, have been permitted to settle at the lower extremity of the village."

About ten miles above Cape Girardeau, was a town of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, where the author purchased some venison hams. He found among the women a white one, who had been captured when about six years old, but no one seemed to know anything of her history.

Cape Girardeau was then a town with about thirty houses.

John Bradbury, an Englishman, arrived in St. Louis on the last day of 1809, and during the next spring and summer he made frequent trips to points within a hundred miles of St. Louis for the purpose of collecting natural history specimens, and then he joined the John Jacob Astor party under Mr. Wilson P. Hunt, before mentioned.

At Cote sans Dessein, two miles below the mouth of the Osage, they learned that a war party of "Ayauwais, Potowatomies, Sioux, and Saukee nations, amounting to nearly three hundred warriors," was going against the Osages, and some fear was felt for the safety of the Hunt party.

The author gives an interesting account of the practices among the Osages of lamenting for their dead. I have already noticed this custom in the account of Pike's travels, and Brackenridge also tells of the same custom in his work, to be noticed later.

At the village of the Petit Osage Indians near Fort Osage, Bradbury found a man dressed as a squaw, and engaged in work with the squaws. This was for a punishment of one who showed want of bravery, and when once the sentence is passed it lasts for life; the men do not associate with those under this sentence, nor are they allowed to marry.

He continued with the party, until after it had passed beyond Missouri, when he returned with a boatload of furs to St. Louis. Here he was placed in charge of a boat with thirty thousand pounds of lead to be taken to New Orleans,

and he was near New Madrid when the well known earthquake called by the name of that town, occurred. His account of it is full and very interesting.

For the second time Mr. H. M. Brackenridge came to Louisiana in 1810, but abandoned his intention of settling there and put in the time in studying the country. For this purpose he decided to join the Lisa expedition, which started up the Missouri river from St. Charles, April 2, 1811. In his journal a number of settlements along the river were noticed; Cote sans Dessein he thought would become an important place, but the French and Indians who then made up its inhabitants do not seem to have been able to achieve this. Valuable salt manufacturing camps were established near the mouth of the Lamine river, and within four or five miles there were seventy-five families. Four days above the Lamine he saw a flock of several hundred pelicans, which were very plenty on the river, while eggs of ducks, geese, brant, &c., were very abundant on the sand bars.

The most severe shock of the New Madrid earthquake [illegible] Bradbury was on the 16th of December, 1811; the shocks continued daily for quite a while afterwards, and L. Bringier who was near New Madrid on the 12th of January, 1812, when the most severe one of that month occurred, gave in the American Journal of Science and Arts in 1821, an account of his experiences, and of the effects of the earthquake, with some theories as to its cause. He also gave a full account of the lead mines of Southeast Missouri.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, a competent geologist, visited Missouri in 1818 and 1819, and recorded his observations in several publications. He commenced his story at Mine a Burton, now Potosi, which place he states was the last village of white inhabitants between the Mississippi river and the Pacific ocean. In this, however, he was hardly correct, as Franklin was laid off in 1816, made the county seat of Howard county in 1817, and the land office for the district of Missouri was located there in 1818. Boonville was also laid out and the plat filed for record August 1, 1817.

After examining the forty lead mines in the vicinity of

Potosi, he commenced his journey southward, having one companion, with a horse to carry their effects. On the Osage fork of the Merimac they passed through a village of Delaware Indians; three miles above was another Delaware settlement, and four miles below was a large one of Shawnees. They passed through little agricultural country, seeing bear, deer, elk, buffalo and all kinds of game in great abundance. After much privation and suffering they finally reached Arkansas on the White river, and then turning back into Missouri, they found in what is now Taney county, two families that had lately arrived, and had not yet completed their cabin. Here they remained twelve days, and were then accompanied by the two hunters to a point a few miles south of the present site of Springfield, where they built a small furnace to smelt bullets. From this point they returned to the White river, descended it for some distance, and returned to Potosi by a route further east than the one by which they traveled out.

In 1819 and 1820 a government expedition was sent from Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, under the command of Major Stephen H. Long. Although the party had a steamer yet they were eight days ascending the Mississippi river from the mouth of the Ohio to St. Louis, and on the 21st of June, 1819, they started on the trip up the Missouri river. At St. Charles, which is described as a town of about one hundred houses, "two brick kilns, a tan yard, and several stores," arrangements were made by Say and others to ascend the Missouri by land with horse and packsaddle, keeping near the steamer so that they could easily join it whenever they wished, this arrangement allowing them better opportunities for investigating the natural history of the country. After nine days of hardships they rejoined the boat at Loutre Island.

Nearly opposite the mouth of the Osage was the French village of Cote sans Dessein, containing about thirty families, mostly French. During the late Indian troubles, "the inhabitants of this settlement relying on mutual protection, did not retire, but erected two stockades and block houses

for their defense; the Sauks, assisted by some Foxes and Ioways, having by a feigned attack and retreat, induced the greater part of the men to pursue them, gained their rear by means of an ambuscade, and entering the village, raised their war cry at the door of the cabins. The women and children fled in consternation to the block houses. At this juncture a young man was seen, who would not abandon his decrepit mother, even though she entreated him to fly and save his own life, leaving her, who could at best expect to live but a few more days, to the mercy of the savages. The youth, instead of listening to her request, raised her upon his shoulders, and ran towards the stockade closely pursued by the Indians. They fired several times upon him, and he must have been cut off had not a sally been made in his favor. After killing the villagers who fell into their hands, the Indians kept up the attack on the stockade all the day, but finally withdrew without capturing it.

Of the homes of the early settlers he says: "The first dwellings constructed by the white settlers, are nearly similar in every part of the United States. Superior wealth and industry are indicated by the number and magnitude of corn-cribs, smokehouses, and similar appurtenances; but on the Missouri, we rarely meet with anything occupying the place of the barn of the northern states. The dwellings of people who have emigrated from Virginia, or any of the southern states, have usually the form of double cabins, or two distinct houses, each containing a single room, and connected to each other by a roof, the intermediate space, which is often equal in area to one of the cabins, being left open at the sides and having the naked earth for a floor, affords a cool and airy retreat, where the family will usually be found in the heat of the day. The roof is composed of from three to five logs, laid longitudinally, and extending from end to end of the building; on these are laid the shingles, four or five feet in length; over these are three or four heavy logs, called weigh poles, secured at their ends by withes, and by their weight supplying the place of nails."

Of Franklin he says: "This town, at present increasing more rapidly than any other on the Missouri, had been commenced but two years and a half before the time of our journey. It then contained one hundred and twenty log houses of one story, several frame dwellings of two stories, and two of brick, thirteen shops for the sale of merchandise, four taverns, two smith's shops, two large steam mills, two billiard rooms, a court house, a log prison of two stories, a post office, and a printing press issuing a weekly paper. At this time bricks were sold at ten dollars per thousand, corn at twenty-five cents per bushel, wheat one dollar, bacon at twelve and one-half cents per pound, uncleared lands at from two to ten or fifteen dollars per acre. The price of labor was seventy-five cents per day."

There were then more than eight hundred families above Cote sans Dessein.

He rightly thought that at some future time the bed of the river would occupy the then site of the town, and that Boonville on the opposite side of the river, which then had only eight houses, was destined to rival if not surpass its neighbor.

An interesting occurrence is narrated as having taken place on Flat creek near the present site of Sedalia:

"A Mr. Munroe, of Franklin, related to the party that in 1816 he found on a branch of the Lamine, the relics of the encampment of a large party of men, whether of whites or of Indians he did not know. Seeing a large mound near by which he believed to be a cache for the spoils of the party, he opened it and found the body of a white officer, apparently a man of rank, which had been interred with extraordinary care. The body was placed in a sitting posture, upon an Indian rush mat, with its back resting against some logs, placed around it in the manner of a log house, enclosing a space of about three by five feet, and about four feet high, covered at top with a mat similar to that beneath. The clothing was still in sufficient preservation to enable him to distinguish a red coat trimmed with gold lace, golden epauletts, a spotted waistcoat, furnished also with gold lace, and pan-

taloons of white nankeen. On the head was a round beaver hat, and a bamboo walking stick, with the initials J. M. C. engraved upon a golden head, reclined against the arm, but was somewhat decayed where it came in contact with the muscular part of the leg. On raising the hat, it was found that the deceased had been hastily scalped. To what nation he belonged, Mr. Munroe could not determine. He observed, however, that the button taken from the shoulder, had the word Philadelphia molded upon it. The cane still remains in the possession of the narrator, but the button was taken by another of the party."

It was reported that in 1815 a fight had taken place between some Spanish dragoons and Pawnee Indians on one side, and Sauks and Foxes on the other, and that a Spanish officer pursued an Indian boy, who shot and killed him."

At Fort Osage they found the party that had gone overland from Franklin. It was one hundred five miles above the mouth of the Grand river; established in 1808, it was at this time the extreme frontier of the settlements.

We have now arrived at the time of the formation of the state of Missouri, a period of two hundred and seventy-nine years, or without considering De Soto, a period of one hundred and forty-seven years, and time will not permit of the notice of other travelers, though many of those of later dates have much of interest in their accounts of their travels within or through the state.

FRANCIS A. SAMPSON.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN SALINE COUNTY, MISSOURI.

An early result of the Louisiana Purchase was the change in the character of immigration into Missouri. Kentucky and Tennessee contributed the bulk, and the composite population soon became American: or rather Kentuckian, Virginian and Tennesseean. Among these people were Presbyterians, mostly settling in the counties along the Missouri river: Callaway, Boone, Saline, Lafayette and Jackson. The fact that these pioneers were from the South explains the course, in after years, of the Presbyterians of Missouri in the controversies of the Church: (1) Division in 1837, into the Old and New School wings, when Missouri went "Old School:" (2) Division following war issues, when the Missouri Church aligned itself with the Southern Church.

Until 1832, the Presbyterians of the state were under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Illinois. On October 2nd, 1832, the Synod of Missouri was erected, with three Presbyteries, eighteen ministers and twenty-five churches, representing about 1.000 communicants: Saline county being within the bounds of the Presbytery of Missouri, in the western section of the state. There have been other changes of Presbyterial lines since that day; in 1856 the Synod of Missouri erected a new Presbytery, that of Lafayette, which included Saline county in its bounds, and no change which affected this county has since been made.

There were many pioneer Presbyterian ministers, but as to the first one in the county, there seems to be a doubt. As for this immediate section, the Rev. William Dickson, who was ordained in Kentucky in 1825, came to Missouri shortly after that date. Though he labored in Saline county, he settled in Lafayette county permanently.

The Rev. John L. Yantis, D. D., who became a power in the Church and a historic character, came from Kentucky in 1833, and settled in Saline county, at the Sweet Springs, in the southwestern part. The following comprise an abreviated list of those who figured in the work of the Church in the county, and the years in which they were certainly at work:

Rev. David Coulter, D. D., from Delaware, 1844.
Rev. Gary Hickman, from Maryland, 1844.
Rev. T. A. Bracken (ordained in Missouri), 1848.
Rev. J. T. Paxton, from Virginia, 1849.
Rev. Nathan H. Hall, D. D., from Kentucky, 1853.
Rev. James W. Clark (ordained in Missouri), 1855.

While some of these ministers never actually resided in Saline county, they worked within its bounds; and others should be mentioned: Rev. John Montgomery, D. D., from Kentucky to Pettis county, in 1857; Rev. James M. Chaney, D. D., originally from Ohio, came in 1857; and Rev. James A. Quarles, D. D., a Missourian by birth, whose distinguished career was lately (April 14th, 1907) terminated by his death at Lexington, Va., was abundant in labors.

Work in all the churches was blighted by the Civil war, and the workings of the iniquitous Drake constitution; the enactment of which instrument was a dark blot on the fair escutcheon of Missouri. It is hard to believe that fanaticism could carry men as far as its provisions operated. Under its conditions no minister could "teach, or preach, or solemnize marriages" without subscribing to the iniquitous test oath, which closed the lips of all ministers who even manifested a desire to say nothing of actually rendering aid or sympathy to those who were antagonistic to the "lawful authorities of the United States" for their success. In 1866 the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced the Drake Constitution in conflict witth the Constitution of the United States.

In 1866, the Rev. Joshua Barbee, whose continual ministry, length of usefulness, transcended any other ever in the

county, began his long pastorate of Mt. Olive Church, and continued twenty-eight years.

In 1868, the Rev. Jahleel Woodbridge came from Kentucky and settled at Miami. His residence in Saline county was only about two years, when he went to Mississippi.

Since 1870 many ministers have come into the county, and there have been many successful pastorates.

Sixteen Presbyterian churches have been regularly organized in Saline county. Some of these, owing to local conditions, have been short lived; others have enjoyed long careers of usefulness. In order of the dates of their organization they are as follows:

SALINE CHURCH. Owing to joint ownership of the Church property with the Cumberland Presbyterians, also known as "UNION" Church. It was located in the eastern part of the county, and was organized by the Rev. B. F. Hoxsey, in 1832; and had eight charter members. The elders were Col. Benjamin Chambers and B. D. Harberson. The records of this Church have long since disappeared. The Church building was erected in 1844, and was dedicated by the Rev. David Coulter, D. D., and the Rev. P. G. Rea, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It was destroyed by fire in 1857, by a negro, to hide his larceny of the pulpit chairs which he coveted. After that, the Church seemed to have disintegrated, as there is no Presbyterian record of its dissolution.

Col. Benjamin Chambers, an elder in this Church, as noted above, was a remarkable man. His distinguished family was from Pennsylvania, his father being General James Chambers, a friend of General Washington, and who served with distinction in the Revolutionary war. The young son Benjamin enlisted, as aid to his father, at twelve years of age, and at the close of the war, at sixteen years, was a first lieutenant. He emigrated to the Northwest Territory; in 1803 was judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and lieutenant-colonel of militia. In 1820 he came to Missouri, and when in 1821, the state came into the Union, at the organization of Saline county he was appointed County Clerk, serving for

fifteen years. The county records bear testimony to his culture and business capacity; and from an old note book, filled with memoranda in his own handwriting, and covering a period of fifteen years—now in the possession of his descendants—the character of the man is fully portrayed; that of piety, culture and force. He died August 27th, 1850, and is buried at Old Cambridge, Saline county, Mo.

ARROW ROCK CHURCH. Organized April 3d, 1840, by the Rev. Wm. Dickson, Rev. G. M. Crawford, and Rev. Benj. W. Reynolds. Dr. H. S. Venable was probably an elder at organization. It never had a building, and was never strong. After the war, its existence was feeble, and it was dissolved by Presbytery about 1876.

MARSHALL CHURCH. Organized by the Rev. Wm. Dickson, and the Rev. B. W. Reynolds, August 31st, 1840, with Hugh Hamilton, elder, and twelve charter members. The Church building was erected about 1855. The Civil war weakened the Church, and it was merged into Mt. Olive Church in 1867. In September, 1868, it was reorganized by the Rev. James A. Quarles, with J. H. Cardell and George Rehm as elders, and Samuel Davis (now Circuit Judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District of Missouri) and Francis Boozer, deacons. From this organization has grown the (at present) largest Church in the Presbytery of Lafayette. The present handsome stone building was completed in 1873.

MIAMI CHURCH. Organized in 1841 by the Rev. Gary Hickman, then the town of "Greenville," since changed to Miami. It is on the Missouri river in the north part of the county. Nothing is known of the membership. They had a building, which was afterwards sold. The Church disintegrated, and after the war, in 1868, was reorganized, with twelve members, by the Synodical evangelist, the Rev. Robert H. Hall, D. D. Robert Smith was chosen elder and James E. Kerr, deacon. The second Church building was destroyed by a cyclone in 1875, but they have now a handsome house of worship, erected in 1897.

PISGAH CHURCH. Organized (first as SALT POND church, the name afterwards being changed) on August 7th, 1845, by the Rev. Gary Hickman, with Thomas Parks and Anderson Fitzpatrick as elders, and twenty-two charter members. An interesting feature as indicated by the records, is the reception of servants (or slaves) into full communion of the Church. It is located in the western part of the county, and its career has been one of great usefulness. From the old records it is shown that it sent out several colonies, which finally sapped its life, as only four members remain alive today. The first building was erected in 1853, and the present one in 1883. Old Pisgah cemetery, a part of the Church grounds, is locally historic; where the remains of the dead of the neighborhood have been deposited for fifty years. A beautiful custom is the "Second Sunday in June Anniversary," when the old friends of the community, at home and abroad, assemble to worship and to keep alive old memories and associations.

MT. OLIVE CHURCH. Organized in 1853, by the Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., and the Rev. Gary Hickman; a historic Church with a long unbroken career of usefulness, and still vigorous. It is an irreparable loss that the early records were lost during the war, and that no data as to the early officers of the church are at hand, or reliably accessible. It is situated six miles south of Marshall, and never was a weak church. In 1866 the Rev. Joshua Barbee became its pastor and served continuously for twenty-eight years. The first house of worship was built in 1853, and was dedicated by the Rev. Nathan H. Hall, D. D., of Kentucky. The second building was erected in 1904. The property is owned jointly with the Cumberland Presbyterians, who have also had all these years, a vigorous organization, with the same name. The old Mt. Olive grave yard is a historic feature, inseparably connected with the history of the church.

SWEET SPRINGS CHURCH, (formerly Brownsville). Organized September 6th, 1868, by the Rev. James A. Quarles,

and the Rev. Joshua Barbee, with eighteen members, and Corbin Vest and A. Havelin, elders, and E. S. West and W. D. Rembert, deacons. The first building was erected in 1872, jointly with the Methodists, and was dedicated in a joint service conducted by the Rev. J. L. Yantis, D. D., and Bishop E. M. Marvin, of the M. E. church, South. In 1887 the second house of worship was built by the church.

SALT SPRINGS CHURCH, (first named "Concord," afterwards changed). Organized by the Rev. James W. Clark and Elder Robert Taylor, June 6th, 1869; elders, J. C. Keithley, W. H. Wade, (afterward Congressman from the Springfield district) and C. K. Brandon, and J. W. Brown and Milton F. Seal, deacons. It is situated eight miles west of Marshall, and their church building was erected in 1872.

SALINE CHURCH, the second of the name in the county, was organized June 11th, 1870, by the Rev. Jahleel Woodbridge and the Rev. Joshua Barbee, with ten members, and John J. Snoddy elder. It is located six miles northwest of Marshall, and their building was erected in 1883.

NEW FRANKFORT CHURCH, in the northeast part of the county, was organized as a Cumberland Presbyterian church, but, upon application, was enrolled as a Presbyterian church April 20th, 1872. It was, upon request, dismissed to the German Evangelical Association April 15th, 1880.

MALTA BEND CHURCH. Organized May 16th, 1875, by the Rev. J. F. Bruner, and J. Wallace, W. H. Lunbeck and W. H. Squairs were the elders. Their house of worship was built in 1876.

LAYNESVILLE CHURCH. Organized in 1879, by the Rev. D. L. Lander. It was located in the (then) new town of Laynesville, in the northwest part of the county, in the Missouri river "bottoms." In one of its inexplicable moods, the river washed most of the town away, and the church followed

in the wake of the town, and was dissolved by the Presbytery, September 29th, 1886.

BLACKBURN CHURCH. Organized October 26th, 1885, by the Rev. Joshua Barbee, and the Rev. L. P. Bowen, D. D., and elder Jas. B. White. There were twenty charter members, with James Alexander, elder, and John Edwards, deacon. Their church building was erected in 1889.

NELSON CHURCH. Organized January 11th, 1891, by the Rev. A. W. Milster, D. D., Synodical evangelist, with fifteen charter members; S. G. Hanley and J. L. Woodbridge, elders, and J. M. Allee, deacon. Their church building was erected the same year.

SLATER CHURCH. Organized by Synodical evangelist, the Rev. Xenophon Ryland in 1895. The work failed to reach permanent footing, and the church was dissolved by Presbytery in April, 1900.

MEMORIAL CHURCH, Napton, Mo. Organized September 1st, 1904, by the Rev. E. F. Abbott, the Rev. E. C. Gordon, D. D., the Rev. I. N. Clegg, and elder J. L. Woodbridge, with eighteen charter members; R. E. Richart, elder, and Philip M. Smith, deacon. The stone church edifice was built just prior to the organization of the church, and is one of the handsomest in the Presbytery of Lafayette.

Though numerically not so strong as some of the other churches, the Presbyterians have done their full share in the development of the religious life of Saline county. They possess the same characteristics of conservatism and force that distinguish them everywhere. Much might be said of the many strong men who have comprised the eldership, but want of space forbids.

J. L. WOODBRIDGE.

Marshall, Mo.
June, 1907.

at Joshua Herrington's old place, once known as the Paul Franklin place, and Calvin Johnson, Thomas Moss and Jacob H. Rambo were, by that act, appointed commissioners to locate and mark the road. When this road was opened, it became known, and is still known, as the State Road from St. Louis to Potosi, though the old route of this road from the stone house on Dry creek to Vivret's residence on Big river, has been almost wholly abandoned, as the routes of travel were radically changed in 1858 by the construction of the Iron Mountain Railroad.

It may be necessary for us to state, for the information of the present generation, that the Glenfinlas, mentioned in the Act of 1839, above referred to, was the name of a post-office kept at that time at the farm-house of Louis Balduc on Big river, which is now owned by the Harness family. That office was discontinued soon after the building of the railroad.

From 1839 to 1858, a regular hack-line, carrying the mails, was established from St. Louis to Potosi, and Glenfinlas was quite an important office on that mail and hack-route.

INDIAN GRAVEYARDS.

There is an Indian grave yard about one acre in extent, on United States Survey No. 395, lying between Belew's creek and Big river. The graves have never been examined, and it is not known what the mode of burial there was. The graves, however, are not in regular order, and seem to have been made without method.

There is another Indian Grave-yard on land now owned by the Schlect heirs, on Saline creek, in United States Survey No. 3011. There are at this place, on a bluff on the north side of Saline creek, three earth-mounds, near each other. The largest is now four or five feet high, and about two hundred feet in circumference. The other two are smaller. Human remains were found in these mounds, which are about one-fourth of a mile northeast of the salt-works, operated by Benio Vasquez, as early as 1775.

OLD CHURCHES.

Our rude forefathers first worshiped in groves or in private residences, and this mode of worship must have continued till long after the state was admitted into the Union in 1821. So far as we have been able to learn, the Baptists and the Methodists were the first to erect buildings for worship. The Baptists built a rude log-house for that purpose at an early day, on land the Spanish government granted to John Boli, on the headwaters of Saline creek, being in United States Survey No. 3127. That was in what was then known as the "Meramec Settlement," being not far from the point where John Hildebrand, the first settler in Jefferson county, located in 1774. This house has long since disappeared. The Baptists also, in 1836, built a log-house for worship on the western side of United States Survey No. 2018, on Sandy, in what was then known as the "Upper Sandy Settlement." Aaron Cook made a deed conveying one acre to the church for church purposes and a grave yard. This house has long since vanished. The congregation abandoned this building in 1840, and built a house lower down on Sandy, at or near the present site of their church.

OLD MILLS.

John Boli erected and operated a water gristmill nearly a hundred years ago at the mouth of Romine creek on United States Survey No. 664. This creek was once known as "Mill Creek," from the fact, no doubt, that this mill was situated on it. This mill has not existed within the memory of any one now living.

OLD FORTS.

In 1790 the settlers erected a rude fort on Saline creek, near the cabin of John Hildebrand, on United States Survey No. 3031, to protect themselves against the Indians. No vestiges of this fort now remain.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN L. THOMAS,
R. G. MORGAN.
Committee.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 4.

In previous reports we have made, we referred to the settlement of John Hildebrand on Saline creek, supposed to be the oldest settlement by white men in our county, but in searching for other old landmarks, we came across new facts in regard to Hildebrand, and we deem it proper to give them, even if we have to repeat some things that we have already reported on former occasions.

THE MERAMEC SETTLEMENT:

John Hildebrand was the first settler in the oldest settlement in the county. The Meramec Settlement extended from what is now Fenton to the mouth of the Meramec river. Other settlers came afterwards. On the west side of the Meramec were John Boli, Benito Vasquez, John Cummins, Jacques Clarmorgan, Antonio Soulard, John Carpenter, Levi Theel, John Seindre, alias John Sanders, John Romain, Christy Romain, James Stewart, Baptiste Raniller, August Gomache, Hardy Ware, and Jean Baptiste Gomache, and on the opposite side of that river were William Boli, Gabriel Cerre, Joachim Roy, Pierre Tarnot, who was called Lajoie, Charles Jones, Joseph Neybour, Phillis Boecarie, Baptiste Riviere and Sophia Shafer. All of these, the most of whom were Canadian-French, took up claims in this settlement under the Spanish government, having crossed over from the Illinois side.

We here present the concessions to Hildebrand and Vasquez, and the evidence on which their claims were confirmed to them by our government. These will give a clearer

* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association, Jefferson County, Missouri, 1902.

insight into the manners, customs, laws and religion of these times, than you could get in any other way. Though Hildebrand had settled on the land in 1774, the concession by the Spanish government was not issued to him for it till November 24th, 1779. That concession is as follows:

"We, Don Fernando de Leyba, Captain in the Regiment of Louisiana, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant Governor, &c.

"On the demand of John Albrane, who has represented to us in his petition, that he had come over from the American side in order to fix his residence on this side and become a subject of His Catholic Majesty, provided we receive him as such; that he wished to cultivate the soil and form a permanent establishment, and supplicates us to grant to him a title of concession of eight arpents of land in width by forty arpents in length, situated at about four leagues from the mouth of the river Meramec on the right side of the said river in descending the stream and at half a league from the banks of said river. Through the said eight arpents in width passes a bayou or branch, which having run through the land of John Sanders, crosses this said tract from one end to the other. The two extremities of the said land run north and south and the two sides east and west; and having offered to take the oath of fidelity to His Catholic Majesty, and declaring that he was of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, therefore after the said Albrane had sworn to be faithful to the King and to his government, we have granted and do grant to him in fee simple, as well as to his heirs or assigns, the eight arpents of land in width by forty arpents in length in all their extent of length and width such and according as they are designated in his said petition, which we have returned to him on condition to establish himself thereon and improve the said land in one year from this day under pain to have the same reunited to the King's domain, and regranted. And the said land to be liable to the public charges and others which it may please his Majesty to impose, forbidding all persons, of whatever rank they may be, to trouble the said John Albrane in his

present grant and to cause him any damage, under pain of punishment. Given in St. Louis, November 24th, 1779.

FERNANDO DE LEYBA.

Truly translated. St. Louis, April 3d, 1833.

JULIUS DE MUN, T. B. C."

In evidence taken before the Board of Land Commissioners in 1806 and 1808, this claimant is sometimes called John Albrane and sometimes John Hildebrand, but the land was finally confirmed to him or his legal representatives under the name of John Hildebrand as No. 3013. The bayou or branch referred to in the concession is Saline creek. James Rankin, the father of James L. and Charles S. Rankin, surveyed his claim February 28th, 1806. John Albrane conveyed this land to Thomas Tyler, by deed dated November 22nd, 1788, and the latter conveyed the same to Jacques Clarmorgan by deed dated September 17th, 1791. Jacques Clarmorgan presented the claim for confirmation, and the following evidence was taken before the Board at St. Louis, July 30th, 1806:

"John Boli, being duly sworn, says that about 18 or 19 years ago, the time at which he arrived in this country, the aforesaid Thomas Tyler lived about one mile below the fork of a run on said land, and had then about 80 arpents of the same under fence, 40 of which were then planted in tobacco and corn and then considered the largest farm in the country; that he remained on it about six or seven years; that about two years after this, the witness' arrival, the settlers being obliged on account of the Indians to fortify themselves, they chose the middle of the settlement; in consequence of which the said Tyler moved up to the fork; that about four or five years afterwards he moved again and settled himself at about two miles from the aforesaid place, down the creek, towards the Saline, made a field and garden, built a house, and that the said tracts have been actually cultivated to this day, either by the said Tyler, for his use or for claimant's (Clarmorgan's) use by his agents, and that the said last tract was actually inhabited and cultivated prior to and on the first day of October, 1800."

In 1808, this evidence was given before the Board of Land Commissioners:

"Peter Chouteau, sworn, says that John Hildebrand inhabited and cultivated the land claimed in 1774, and that he found him still inhabiting and cultivating the same in 1780, when deponent, by order of the Lieutenant Governor went on the premises to warn said Hildebrand to abandon the same on account of Indian depredations. This order was obeyed by Hildebrand, as well as all the inhabitants of the Meramec."

BENITO VASQUEZ.

This settler was evidently a Spaniard, and took up a claim a league square, in the "Meramec Settlement," about 1784. The concession to him is as follows:

"Don Francisco Curzot, Lieutenant Colonel of Infantry by Brevet, Commander in Chief and Lieutenant Governor of the Western Post and District of Illinois:

"Having examined the memorial presented by Don Benito Vasquez, lieutenant in one of the companies of the militia of this town, I have granted and do grant to him in fee simple, for him, his heirs and others who may represent his right, one league square of land, in order that he may establish the stock farm (banqueria) he solicits, in the place called La Saline a Calolan, on the south side of the river Meramec (Barameca), at four leagues from its mouth, on condition to establish and improve the same in one year from this date; and on the contrary the said land to be reunited to the royal domain; and it shall be liable to public charges and others it may please his Majesty to impose.

Given in St. Louis of Illinois the 8th day of the month of September, 1784.

FRANCISCO CRUZOT.

Translated by Julius De Mun, March 28th, 1833.

The record shows this concession was made for a stock farm, (banqueria in Spanish) at another place called a rancheria. On the 26th day of September, 1785, Victoire, the wife of said Benito Vasquez, passed said land to Peter Chou-

teau. This transfer by the wife was ratified by Benito Vasquez by deed dated January 31st, 1805. Peter Chouteau conveyed the land by deed dated May 4th, 1804, to Charles Gratoit. The latter presented the claim for confirmation to the Board of Land Commissioners, August 29th, 1806, when this evidence was taken as to the settlement on the land:

"Louis Bouri, being duly sworn, saith that he has known the said tract of land established as a farm; that it was settled under Francisco Cruzot by the said Benito Vasquez, who made a park on the same; that there is on said tract a Salt spring distant from the said park about three arpents; that he was through said land at two different times; that the same was then actually inhabited and cultivated; saw a great number of cattle but could not say to whom they did belong.

"Hyacinthe St. Cyr, being duly sworn, said that he was on said tract of land about 21 years ago (1785); that the same was then actually inhabited and cultivated for the said Benito Vasquez, who then had salt works established at the aforesaid Salt Spring; and further, it was prior to and on the 1st day of October, 1800, actually inhabited and cultivated for the said Peter Chouteau.

"Peter Lajoy, sworn October 25th, 1808, says, that the claimant, (Charles Gratoit) made an establishment on the land about 12 years ago, when it was inhabited and cultivated for him and that the same had been inhabited and cultivated for him ever since.

Albert Tyson, duly sworn, March 13th, 1833, says that in 1800 or 1801, he saw ground fenced in and a large quantity of stock; that they were then making salt, and by appearances, had been making salt for some years prior to that time, and that the works continued in operation long afterwards, as said witness went occasionally on said place to procure salt.

"Charles Freman Delauriere, Deputy Surveyor, being duly sworn, says that in 1799, for the first time, he passed through said place and saw fields, furnaces, people at work, in fact it was a pretty large establishment; that he saw the

same for several years in succession in operation and that the first time he saw said place it had all the appearances of having been settled several years prior to that time."

This claim was finally confirmed to Benito Vasquez, or his legal representatives as Survey No. 3011. This claim, however, covered the land settled by John Albrane, alias John Hildebrand, but Hildebrand held his claim.

It may be interesting to know that Charles Freman Delauriere, who was a witness in this case, obtained a concession of land of a league square, known as Survey No. 3022, which is the land known as the "Moran Claim" in the Richwoods, now occupied by Charles A. Stocking.

The "Meramec Settlement" in 1799, had a population of 115.

From these two concessions, and the evidence taken before the Board of Land Commissioners above quoted, these facts have been shown:

1. That the territory included in the "Meramec Settlement" was in the District of Illinois. There is no question that originally, a very large scope of country in this section, on both sides of the Mississippi, was called Illinois, after a tribe of Indians. In 1795, Antoine Soulard, was Surveyor General of "all districts of Illinois and New Madrid."

2. The word "arpents" instead of acres, was then in vogue. "Arpents" is a French word, and is about eighty-five hundredths of an acre. Hildebrand's concession contained 320 arpents, or 272 acres.

3. The concessions were without cost to the claimants, except, probably, fees for surveying, &c. These grants were homesteads.

In 1780 the inhabitants of "Meramec Settlements" were warned by Peter Chouteau to leave their homes on account of the Indians. This was the result of the attack in St. Louis, May 26th, 1780, by the English and Indians during our Revolutionary war, an account of which we gave in one of our former reports.

5. About 1787, the inhabitants of this settlement had to flee from their homes on account of the Indians.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

A FEW OF THE LEADING PEOPLE AND EVENTS OF EARLY MISSOURI HISTORY.*

Rev. James E. Welch.

The Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser published in Franklin, Missouri, in its issue of Sept. 2, 1820, states that the Rev. James E. Welch would preach in Franklin. Another issue of the same paper informs us that he was in Franklin in 1822. On March 3, 1828, a convention met in Jefferson City composed of those friendly to President Adams' administration. Among them we find the name of Joseph E. Brown, of St. Louis, chairman, with others present as Nathaniel Patten, of the Advertiser, Richard H. Woolfolk, of Lincoln, Marcus Williams, of Boone, Jonathan Ramsey, of Cole, Irvin Pitman, of Montgomery, Henry S. Geyer, Hamilton R. Gamble, John O'Fallon, of St. Louis, James E. Welch and others.

Mr. Welch resided in St. Louis before Missouri became a state. Some years later he went to New Jersey, returning to Missouri about 1846 and settling in Warren county, where I saw him in 1861. His son, Aikman Welch, was a member of the Legislature of Missouri in 1860 from Johnson county, and in 1861 he was a member of the Convention; and from 1862 to 1864 was Attorney General of Missouri and died while holding that office. The Rev. J. E. Welch's grandson, Aikman Welch, Jr., has been in business in St. Louis during recent years.

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*Read before the State Historical Society at its fifth annual meeting, February 8, 1906.

Lilburn W. Boggs was cashier of a bank in St. Louis in 1817-1818. He soon after moved to Franklin where, for several years, he was engaged in the fur trade. In 1826 he was in business in Lexington, and in 1831 resided in Independence. In 1832 he was elected Lieutenant Governor of the state, and in 1836 was elected its Governor. He moved to California in 1846 and died there in 1860.

Lilburn W. Boggs.

In 1819 Hamilton R. Gamble began the practice of law in Franklin, Missouri, and was the first circuit attorney appointed for the district including Boone, Howard, etc. In 1822 he was captain of the Franklin guards. In 1823 he removed to St. Louis. Later in life he was judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. In 1861 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention and died in 1864 while Governor of the state.

Hamilton R. Gamble.

George C. Sibley was born in Massachusetts in 1782 and reared in North Carolina. His father was a surgeon in the Revolution and later resided at Natchitoches, Louisiana. George C. Sibley came to St. Louis soon after 1810, and was employed in the Indian Department, and from 1816 to 1825 was factor for the Government at Fort Osage. In 1825 and 1826 he was one of the commissioners to locate a road from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. The town of Sibley, Jackson county, was named after Major Sibley and was laid off on the site of Fort Osage. About 1830 Major Sibley and his wife started a female college at St. Charles, which they termed Lindenwood. From 1839 to 1842 Major Sibley was president of the Board of Public Improvements of the state. In 1870 E. M. Samuel and George C. Sibley ran for Congress on the Whig ticket and were defeated.

George C. Sibley

In 1823 Alphonzo Wetmore resided at Franklin. In

1823 he was paymaster of the U. S. army. In 1823 he was trustee of Franklin Academy. In 1829 he wrote a letter to Senator Thomas H. Benton speaking of the great importance of the Santa Fe Trade. In 1837 he published a gazeteer of Missouri, a valuable book for the time.

Alphonzo Wetmore.

Among the strong characters who are now but poorly remembered in Missouri I would mention the Rev. (or Colonel) John A. Ball. Colonel Ball was born in Virginia in 1773, and died in Lincoln county, Missouri, near the St. Charles line in 1849. Colonel Ball was a relative of General Washington and like him was tall, straight and fine looking, a strong forcible speaker and stern in his ideas of right. He lived in Lincoln county during his later years, about four miles from where the writer's father resided. His daughter married Governor Frederick Bates. Col. Ball commanded the U. S. troops at Fort McHenry near Baltimore in the war of 1812. He represented St. Louis in the first Legislature of 1820. In 1822 he was a member of the state senate from St. Louis. Afterwards he became a Presbyterian minister and in September 1829 he was Moderator of the Presbytery which met in Columbia. Although a preacher he was generally spoken of as Colonel Ball.

John A. Ball.

Recently I saw an old style mirror about three feet high which formerly belonged to Colonel Ball. When he died he left it to a relative, John H. Newby. It is now in the possession of his son, Dr. J. B. Newby, of St. Louis. At its upper part there is a representation of Washington's tomb with the inscription "G. Washington Ob. Dec. 14, 1799 Aetat 68." At each side a fringe of shrubbery is represented.

General Duff Green was postmaster at Chariton in 1820 and was a member of the Constitutional Convention which met in St. Louis in that year to form a State Constitution. In 1821 he was a member of the House of Representatives from Howard county and during the session introduced the

Gen. Duff Green.

bill to establish Loan Offices in the state and to authorize the issue of $300,000 in loan office certificates. While a member he furnished the proceedings of the Legislature to the Boonslick Advertiser. In 1819 he was clerk of the court of Chariton county. In 1824 he edited the St. Louis Enquirer, and in 1826 he edited the Telegraph at Washington City. At first Green was a strong supporter of President Jackson, but in 1832 he made charges concerning the President and the management of the Government. In 1829 he was elected public printer. Through his paper he engaged in a bitter war with James Watson Webb, of the New York Courier and Enquirer. Later he went to Georgia and died at Dalton.

Henry T. Bingham.

Henry T. Bingham was one of the first settlers of Old Franklin, coming there from Augusta county, Virginia, in the fall of 1819. In 1820 he kept tavern at Franklin, and in 1821 he had a tobacco factory there. He was one of the first justices of the county court, was a Mason and was buried with Masonic honors. He died Dec. 26, 1823, aged 39 years. His wife, Mary, and John F. Ryland (afterwards judge) administered on the estate. George C. Bingham, the celebrated Missouri artist, was his son.

George C. Bingham.

George C. Bingham was born near Weiers' Cave, Augusta county, Virginia, March 20, 1811. After the death of Henry Bingham, Mrs. Bingham moved to a farm near Arrow Rock in Saline county, Missouri. Early in life Bingham exhibited a taste for drawing which improved as he reached years of maturity. In March, 1835, he had a portrait gallery on Guitar street, Columbia, Missouri. Between 1837 and 1840 he studied in Philadelphia at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. In 1840 he opened a studio in Washington City, where he remained for several years and painted portraits of our most distinguished men. Returning to Missouri in 1845 he was elected a member of the Legislature of 1846 and of 1848. Later he held two state offices at different

times. But he devoted his best hours to illustrating on canvass the manners and incidents of the West. His most famous paintings include "Order No. 11," "The Jolly Flatboatman," "Stump Speaking," and fine portraits of well known persons. He spent some time abroad visiting European portrait galleries. He died in Kansas City, July 7, 1879.

Abiel Leonard.

In 1824 Hamilton R. Gamble moving to St. Louis resigned the office of circuit attorney and Abiel Leonard, then of Franklin, was appointed in his place. Later Leonard became Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. Oct. 30, 1830, Leonard was married to Miss Jeanette Reeves, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Reeves. Judge Leonard's son was Major Reeves Leonard of General Odon Guitar's regiment, 1862. General Guitar married a daughter of Judge Leonard.

A. B. Chambers.

On October 19, 1835, the first number of the Salt River Journal was issued at Bowling Green, Missouri, by A. B. Chambers and Oliver Harris. On Nov. 9, 1833, A. B. Chambers was married in Lexington, Kentucky, to Mrs. Elizabeth Carr, late of Troy, Missouri. Mrs. Chambers was the mother of Alfred Carr, of St. Louis, and of Lucien Carr, who has been for some years past Curator of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He is the author of a volume on the History of Missouri, also one on the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley. On May 24, 1834, A. B. Chambers was appointed circuit attorney for the Second Judicial District of Missouri, vice Ezra Hunt, resigned. Hunt was afterwards judge of that circuit, and in 1845 was a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state. Judge Hunt's second daughter married D. P. Dyer, who is at present Federal Judge at St. Louis. Judge Hunt's son, David, has been for some years an officer in the United States army, and a few years ago was Cadet Instructor of a school at Lexington, Missouri. He is now Lieutenant Colonel of the Third U. S.

cavalry. A. B. Chambers moved to St. Louis and at the time of his death was cheif editor of the Missouri Republican.

William B. Napton.

In July, 1834, William B. Napton, late of Virginia, became a citizen of Missouri, and for a while stopped in Columbia. He came from a Northern state to Virginia between 1830 and 1835, and began the study of law as a poor boy in Charlottesville, Virginia, where, I have been told, that in cold weather he would sometimes lie in bed because of no fire to warm by and no money to buy fuel. But Napton became one of the ablest jurists of Missouri.

Edward Bates

It has been a great pleasure to me to have been acquainted with one of the best known and most honorable citizens of Missouri. I feel that I was most happily rewarded in having personally known the family of Judge Edward Bates. While a boy in St. Charles county, I attended a private school at Judge Bates'. In the year 1855 I was quite sick at a hotel in St. Louis, and Mr. Bates had me brought to his house and there I was as carefully nursed by Mrs. Bates as I would have been by a mother. Mr. Bates' fifth son, born in 1842, is now the distinguished Major General John Bates, the head of the United States army. Edward Bates was of Quaker parentage, and born in Goochland county, Virginia in 1793. In 1813 he was a member of a volunteer company of the Virignia army. In 1814 he came to St. Louis. In 1819 he was attorney for the Northern District of Missouri. In 1820 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention. In 1820 and 1822 he was Attorney General of Missouri. In 1822, 1824 and 1834 Mr. Bates was a member of the House of Representatives of Missouri. In 1826 he was a member of Congress. In 1834 and 1836 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1834 he was President of the State Temperance association that met in Columbia. In 1850 President Fillmore tendered to him the position of Secretary of War but he declined it. In 1847 he was President of a River and Harbor Convention that met

in Chicago. In 1853 he was Judge of the St. Louis Land Court. In 1856 he presided at the Whig National Convention that met in Baltimore. In 1860 the name of Mr. Bates was presented as a candidate for president, but Lincoln secured the nomination. From 1861 to 1864 he served as attorney general of the United States. He died in St. Louis March 25, 1869. Governor Frederick Bates was an elder brother of Edward Bates. Barton Bates, a son of Edward Bates, was Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. Charles W. Bates, city attorney of St. Louis, is a grandson of Edward Bates.

It is of interest to remember that the female members of two families have married men who are prominent leading citizens of our country. I refer to the Coulters and Eastons.

Rufus Easton was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1774. In 1803-4 he was in Washington City. In 1804 he came to St. Louis and was appointed by the President a judge of the Territory of Upper Louisiana. From 1805 to 1814 he was postmaster of St. Louis, being the first to be appointed after the transfer. In 1814 and 1816 he was a delegate to Congress. In 1821 he was appointed by President Monroe attorney general of Missouri. He died at St. Charles in 1834. His wife was Miss Smith, of New York, and their eldest daughter, Mary, married George C. Sibley and in 1830 they started the school at St. Charles, afterwards so well known as Lindenwood College. Rufus Easton's second daughter, Jemima, married first Dr. P .Quarles. Her second husband was Henry S. Geyer, U. S. Senator. Louisa Easton married Archibald Gamble, brother of Governor Hamilton R. Gamble. Russella Easton married Thomas L. Anderson, member of Congress from Missouri. Alton R., son of Rufus Easton, commanded the St. Louis Legion of the Mexican War. He led a long and honorable life in St. Louis. Easton avenue was named after him.

Rufus Easton

When Lindenwood College was started by Mrs. Sibley in 1830, Major Sibley gave twenty-nine acres of land near St. Charles for the site. The ground was covered with a fine growth of Linden trees, hence the name of the school, "Lindenwood Female College," which was applied to it in 1835. It was the first female college started in Missouri. It remained under the control of the St. Louis Presbytery until 1870. In 1853 it was formally incorporated as Lindenwood Female College. In 1870 the Synod of the Presbyterian church of Missouri took it in charge. Mrs. Sibley's influence was the mainstay of the college for the first twenty-five years of its existence. The board of directors under its organization in 1853 consisted of Archibald Gamble, Rev. Thomas Watson, Charles D. Drake, Charles F. Woodson, Achilles Broadhead (my father), Samuel S. Watson, Rev. Robert P. Farris, Rev. A. J. P. Anderson, Joseph Charless, John J. Johns, Rev. S. B. McPheeters, Samuel F. P. Anderson, Samuel B. Smith, T. G. Chiles, James A. Lyon and Joseph F. Fenton. Judge Samuel S. Watson was elected president of the board. In 1856 Major and Mrs. Sibley donated one hundred and twenty acres of ground to the college, and on the Fourth of July, 1856, the corner stone of the building was laid. Judge Samuel S. Watson gave $5000 towards the building and up to the time of his death was a liberal contributor to the College. The board of directors at the reorganization of the College were all elders and ministers of the Presbyterian church.

Lindenwood Female College.

David Coalter, of Augusta county, Virginia, married Ann Carmichael, of South Carolina, and had two sons and five daughters. Their sons were John D. and Beverly Tucker. John D. Coalter married Miss Means, of South Carolina and settled in St. Charles, Missouri, where he became an influential attorney, and was three times elected to the Missouri Legislature, in 1836, 1838 and 1844. He died in St. Louis about

David Coalter

1862. Dr. Beverly Tucker Coalter settled in Pike county where he became a popular physician and married Mrs. McQueen.

Maria, daughter of David Coalter, married Hon. William C. Preston, U. S. Senator from South Carolina. Her sister, Catherine, married Judge Harper, of South Carolina, who was judge of the Court of Chancery of Missouri in 1821. But the Court was soon abolished and Judge Harper afterwards returned to South Carolina. Fannie Coalter, a sister of John D. Coalter, married Dr. Means, of South Carolina, who also resided for awhile in Missouri. Another sister, Caroline Coalter, married Governor Hamilton R. Gamble, of Missouri. Julia D., another sister, married Hon. Edward Bates. Jane Coalter, a sister of David Coalter, married John Naylor, who was long a well known and influential citizen of St. Charles county, Missouri.

Most of the Coalters with the Naylors and Bates and other relatives resided for a number of years on Dardenne Prairie, St. Charles county, and between 1820 and 1850 there was no better society in Missouri than that of Dardenne Prairie.

GARLAND C. BROADHEAD.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1859.

After the excitement on the Border in the summer of 1858, illustrated by the documents reprinted in the Review, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 198-225, there was comparative quiet until late in December, when the troubles broke out afresh. The difficulties in 1859 did not differ in character from the raids of the previous year, but have an added interest from the participation of the "notorius" John Brown.

Governor Stewart, in a message to the Legislature on January 6, 1859, (1) gave an excellent summary of the troubles to that date, and asked the Legislature for more liberal power to call out the militia. In response a bill was passed (approved February 24, 1859), (2) appropriating $30,000 to be placed at the disposal of the Governor to enable him to "suppress and bring to justice the banditti on the western border of the State, and to raise a sufficient force to protect the western border." Accompaning the message were several documents, (3) including two memorials of December, 1858, similar in content to No. III below, and a correspondence between Governor Stewart and the authorities at Washington. Governor Stewart appealed to President Buchanan, August 9, 1858, to send United States troops to the Border to avert all danger of sectional strife or civil war; the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, replied, September 9, 1858, that there were no troops available.

It has been deemed wiser, as these documents are partizan in character, to reprint them verbatim, in order to give all possible internal evidence as to the authors.

JONAS VILES.

1. Senate Journal, 20th Assembly, pp. 59-60.
2. Session Acts, 20th Assembly, 1st Session, pp. 8-9.
3. Senate Journal, 20th Assembly, Appendix, pp. 78-80.

I—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR MEDARY.

(Copy) Executive Department,
Jefferson City, Mo., Dec. 31, 1858.

His Excellency,
Sam'l Medary,
Gov. of Kansas Territory:

Dear Sir: I have information of the recent invasion of Missouri by Montgomery and his band of marauders, residing in the Territory of Kansas, and have a dispatch from a gentleman at Kansas City, (1) suggesting that an officer be sent by the Executive of this State to the neighborhood, in Missouri, of Fort Scott, to take charge of any men under arms in Missouri, to aid in preventing the escape of Montgomery, and generally to cooperate with the Executive of Kansas Territory.

The attention of the General Assembly of this State, now in session, will at once be called to the matter, with a view to the utmost efficiency in the suppression of further outrages of a similar character, and for the purpose of bringing to justice those already guilty of a breach of the peace.

Meantime I desire to be informed specifically of your plan of operations, and for this purpose dispatch the bearer of this, Mr. JAMES Z. BELCH, for whom I bespeak your courtesies, and through whom I solicit from you the information desired.

Believe me, Sir,
Very respectfully yours,
(Signed) R. M. STEWART.

[Endorsed.]
Copy of
Letter to Sam. Medary
Gov. of Kansas Ter.
Dec. 31, 1858.

1. Ben. I. Newson. Dispatch endorsed, Dispatch of Newson concerning Kansas Marauders. Dec. 31, 58.

II—GOVERNOR MEDARY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Executive, Office
Lecompton, K. T. Janry 3rd 1859.

Hon. R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri:
Sir:

I received your dispatch by Telegraph, to Mr. Newson, today. I am under great obligations to you for your prompt action. I have ordered U. S. troops to that region in Kansas, and will organize such force of citizens of the Territory as I shall be able to arm, to act as Marshall's posse with the Troops. If you can keep your people on the line, they may be of the utmost importance to us, if Montgomery and his Banditti, attempt to escape in that direction, as well as to protect your citizens there from invasion.

I am informed that Montgomery intends to escape into Missouri if the force on this side is greater than he thinks safe to attack. Montgomery and Brown have three forts, one is very strong in the rocks. If we can get them into these Forts, or any one of them, we shall have them safe. Montgomery & Brown can bring into action from one to two hundred men, well armed and plenty of horses. Montgomery boasts that he can raise 500 men, but I doubt it very much. There are no infantry in the Territory at the Forts, and only two companies of cavalry—but plenty of cannon. These last are useless except to use against the Fortifications of Montgomery & Brown. We shall have to depend, therefore, mainly upon armed citizens if Montgomery is as strong as supposed. To raise these, here, without money and without any military organization is preplexing me very much, and we may in the end want all the aid we can get from every quarter. This is the worst side, but the side that may by possibility turn up, and it is well enough to be prepared for it. I hope to make so complete a work of it, that it will not want doing over again in that region.

Little did I think when I had the pleasure of making your

acquaintance so recently, that I was about to meet so many difficulties as I have already encountered.

Very truly & respectfully,

S. MEDARY.

[Endorsed.]
Gov. S. Medary
Jan. 3, 1859.
about armed forces etc.

III—CAPTAIN MOONEY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

West Point Bates County Mo
Jan 4th '59.

To the Hon. R. M. Stewart
Governor of Missouri

I feel it my bounden duty as one of your sovereign citizens to inform you first of the difficulties & invasions with which we the citizens of Bates and Vernon Counties Missouri are daily harrassed. you are no doubt before this fully apprised of the cold blooded & atrocious Murders and Robberies that have been committed in Vernon county some two or three week since—On last Thursday night December 30th a band of about fifty Murders and Robbers under the Lead of one Eli Snyder crossed the line from Linn county Kansas Territory and made an attack upon one of our most peaceable and worthy citizens Mr Jackson and Robbed and despoiled him of his property and goods to the amount of at least six thousand dollars, and finally burnt his House over the heads of himself and defenceless wife and children, who was only able to escape from the building through a current of smoke in time to save themselves from the burning ruins—again on the night of 3rd Jan 59 this town was attack by two or three attempts to set fire to buildings to attract our attention so that they could make a successful general attack upon us as they had at that time a large armed force within a mile of our town ready for the attack. They have been prowling around in the Territory not more than 3 or 4 miles from us ever since (and are at the present writing) threatening to break in upon us and Rob &

burn us out—after having suffered What we have already and in view of the certain impending danger we the citizens of this place & vicinity deemed advisable (from information we receved through the Messenger from Vernon county to your excellency) to raise officer & organize a company of one hundred men Rank and file for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens of our border & tender them to your Excellency for your acceptance into the service of the State, properly armed and Equipped—On yesterday our company was organized & officers Ellected, the names of the commissioned officers are as follows

Captain—James E. Mooney
1st Leut.—Alexander Spencer
2nd Leut.—Nathan Sears
3rd Leut.—Henry Feely

We would ask and beg your Excellency to consider and answer this communication at the earliest day practicable

Respect your obt. servt.

&c

JAMES E. MOONEY, Capt

P. S. We should be armed Equiped as cavalry as any other would be entirely ineficient.

J E M

P. S. I would beg to recommend to your consideration Dr. T. J. B. Rockwell to receive appointment of surgeon for the corpse to which we belong

J. E. MOONEY

We the citizens of West Point & vicinity do indorse the foregoing statements as substantially true and beg immediate assistance and recommend to the favorable consideration of your Excellency also the appointment Dr. T. J. B. Rockwell as surgeon

I A PIGG
ALEX FEELY
WM BOYER
A. H. SPENCER
T. J. B. ROCKWELL

P. S. We would refere you to Genl Payton Maj Goodlet

Maj Brisco Maj Edgar and Stone and Blanton members of the Senate and House.

1 A PIGG &
others

[Endorsed.]
J. E. Money Capt'n
of Company, Vernon Co
Jan. — 1859.

IV—PETITION FROM VERNON COUNTY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Vernon Co. Mo. March 28th, 1859.

To the Honr. Robt. A Stewart
Governor of the State of Missouri

Your petitioners Citizens of Vernon Co. Mo. residing in the immediate vicinity of the State line, would most respectfully represent that the parties who have heretofore infested the border from Kansas Territory are now assembling near the State line on the little Osage River organizing their forces commanded by Montgomery and others and your petitioners would further state they have the most reliable information that the notorius Brown has again made his appearance in the Territory, threatening to lay wast the whole country on the little Osage, and your petitioners have every reason to believe that it is the full intention of those lawless men to invade the State and rob and murder the inhabitants as they have heretofore done. Therefore your petitioners being fully satisfied of the avowed intention of those lawless men would most respectfully ask your Honr. to extend to us immediately such protection as in your judgment may seem best. Your petitioners would also recommend the Bearer of this petition Wm. B. Fail (1) as a Suitable person to carry out any measures you

(1) The letter is in Fail's handwriting

may think proper to adopt and he can explain more fully the situation of affairs on the border.

S. A. REESE WM B FAIL
(and 41 others.)
[Endorsed.]
Border War
Petition
April 1, 1859

V—INSTRUCTIONS TO ADJT. GEN. PARSONS.

Executive Department
Jefferson City, Mo., April 5, 1859.

G. A. Parsons,
Adjutant General of Mo.

Sir:

After a brief suspension of aggressive acts on the part of the bandits of Kansas, during which a general pardon has been granted for past offenses, so far as the authorities of that Territory are concerned—a clemency extended under the impression that such a course would secure order and quiet, I again have information from reliable sources, that the western border of this State, in Cass and Bates Counties, is threatened anew by a marauding band, organized or being organized, in the territory of Kansas, and that good reasons exist for believing that incursions into Missouri for the purpose of robbery, and perhaps, as before, of arson and murder, are intended thereby.

I, therefore, direct you to repair at once to the district of country exposed to such marauding incursions, and there to make such provision for repelling aggressions upon our soil and the rights of the citizens of this State, after ascertaining the present and probable dangers to be apprehended, as you may deem necessary, by causing military companies to be organized and armed, to the extent that arms are available, and by such other precautionary measures as the exigencies of the case demand. And as far as practicable, in your efforts or measures for the protection of the border, and in the accomplishment of the objects contemplated by the Act of the Gen-

eral Assembly, approved March 1859, hereto annexed, you will seek the cooperation of the authorities of Kansas Territory, in accordance with the second section of said act.

In whatever you may find it necessary to do in the accomplishment of the purposes mentioned, you will, as far as practicable, rely upon citizens of the counties exposed to danger, and upon those so exposed, and you will adopt the most economical measures, the efficiency of which can be relied upon in the achievment of the object desired.

You will also be careful to instruct all those having command of any force organized for the objects named, not to permit any aggressive act to be done by such force which which may justly tend to engender strife between the citizens of Kansas Territory and of this State.

[Endorsed.]
Copy of Instructions to Ad-Gen.
G. A. Parsons,
April 5, 1859.

VI—GOVERNOR STEWART TO GOVERNOR MEDARY.

Executive Department,
Jefferson City, Mo., April 8, 1859.

His Excellency,
S. Medary,
Gov. of Kansas.

Dear Sir: Having received information that citizens within the Territory of Kansas are again organizing with the apparent object, and the express intention of making marauding incursions into Missouri I have ordered Adj. Gen. G. A. Parsons to the border—Cass, Bates and Vernon Counties—with instructions "there to make such provision for repelling aggressions upon our soil and the rights of the citizens of this State, after ascertaining the present and probable....etc—(copy of essential features of the instructions to Gen. Parsons.)

[Endorsed.]
Copy of Letter to
Gov. S. Medary.
April 8, 1859.

VII—GOVERNOR MEDARY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Ex. Office
Le Compton, K. T. April 14, 1859.

His Excellency ;
R. M. Stewart,
Gov. of Missouri
Dear Sir:

Yours of the 8th inst. was received last night. As I had information up to the latest date from the counties in Kansas bordering upon Missouri, I was surprised at the tenor of your letter. I cannot think it possible that any such organization exists this side the line, as you seem to think from information communicated to you. I shall, however institute immediate enquiry into the matter, and if any such organization does exist it shall be dealt with in a summary manner. I cannot too highly appreciate your prudential course, and prompt action; and shall always be happy to unite with you in preserving order on the line, and in preserving also the lives and property of our citizens.

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant
S. MEDARY.

[Endorsed.]
Gov. S. Medary
in answer to letter
informing him that
Gen. Parsons had gone
to Line.
April 14, 1859.

VIII—CAPT. DOAK TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters Mo Mi.—
Butler Bates Co Mo
Apl 21st 1859

His Excel R. M. Stewart
Comd. In Chf Mo Mi—
Sir

I have the honor to report that since I recd. the Apt as Capt Comp "B" Mo Mi—on the 13th Inst from you per hands of Adj't Gen G A Parsons, I have spent three or four

days on the line between this State and Kansas T— I find along said line nothing of an exciting Nature or any thing that I think would justify me under my instructions to march with my Comp on the line—There is some fears however entertained by a number of men who are farming in thinly settled neighborhoods that a decent will be made on them by the Kansas Banditti—before any intimation of such a movement could reach them as it appears those thieving bands are frequently organized some twenty or twenty-five miles back from the line and our citizens would not be apprised of there approach untill arroused from there beds by an armed force at there doors Fearing Such an attack might be made I will move on the line with my Company in seven or eight days or as soon as I get the nessary arms and accoutrements for my men—if I find the fears of our citizens along the line continue—and there remain a week or ten days—or longer if there should any thing arrise that is threatening—On this matter however I would request some instructions—at an early a day as possible.

I would respectfully Suggest to your honor that some Fifty Stand of Muskets be turned over to the Citizens of West Point in this County to be distributed among the Citizens of that place

I would further respectfully suggest that arms suitable for the mounted force be sent forward soon—as the Muskets now at this place are not compleat with accoutrements &c which fact I suppose Mr McHenry has apprised you of—

I made the selection from my company on the 15th Inst of two men (John Weightman & W. L. Meek) for the Secret Service mentioned in your instructions—would have placed two more but found that I could get the nessary information without the additional expence &c

Hoping soon to hear from you I have
the honor to Subscribe myself
Yours Very Respectfully
WM. H. DOAK
Capt Co "B" Mo Mi—

[Endorsed.]
Capt Wm H Doak
Butler, Bates Co.

IX—CAPTAIN COVE TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Butler Mo
Aug. 16th 1859.

His Excel R. M. Stewart
Dear Sir

We are again about to have some trouble on our Border. The difficulty So far as I can learn is about as follows Some time Since one Wm Wright (alias Pickles) was by the Grand Jury of Vernon County Indicted in 2 several Indictment for **Murder** and **Robbery**—Wm. Wright (alias Pickles) was a citizen of Kansas and was caught at or near Fails Store on the line on or about the 6th Inst and was by the citizens arrested and delivered over to the Sheriff of Vernon County for Safe Keeping.

A number of reports having reached me immediately after the arrest of Pickles to the effect that the ciizens in Vernon Co in the neighborhood of Fails Store were threatened with violence by the outlaws of Kansas, I with two men left here on the evening of the 11th Inst—and reached Fails Store Early on the evening of the 12th I found 1st Lieut Barnes in comd. of "A" Co Mo Mi—during the temporary absence of Capt Wm B Fail—Mr Barnes could give me no certain information of any organized bands in the Territory but from the frequent reports & threats he deemed it nessary to organize the Comp and go into service so as to be prepared to repel an attack or invasion, if any attempt should be made in the State. There was considerable excitement among the citizens in the neighborhood of the arrest of Pickles, in regard to the many threats that was made to them by the people of the Territory.

When I lef Capt Fails Camp on the evening of the 12th Inst I did not think there would be any Serious difficulty as I could not learn that any of the prominent men of the Territory were taking any part in the matter, and returned home Satisfied that every thing would pass off quietly until I recd. about noon yesterday the Copy of a letter from the notorious J. Montgomery—a Copy of which I send you also a Copy of the one recd. from Capt M Cove &c

By Copy enclosed you will See that Capt J Montgomery "demands the immediate release of Pickles to his home in the Territory"

From the extent of the depridations we as people of the State of Missouri have already suffered from the lawless bands of Kansas rascals—I have come to this conclusion—That the first insult offered to the Citizens of this State by the people of Kansas—or an invasion I will repel invasion and meet out justice to them—and will cross the line at once to carry out this plan

I hope the above will meet with your approbation, if it should not you will please consider this as my resignation as Capt Co "D" Mo Mi

I learn from a private source today (but entirely reliable) that Capt Montgomery had an interview with some 5 or 6 Citizens of Vernon Co on the 14th Inst—near Fails Store—Capt M told the Citizens of Vernon that he would give them till next Sunday to act on the Subject of his note is, Wheather or not they would give up Pickles—

Yours Very Respectfuly
WM. H DOAK
Capt Co "B" Mo Mi

[Endorsed.]
Capt Wm. H Doak
about "Pickles"
Butler, Aug. 16, 1859.
(Copy)

[Enclosure.]

Papinsville Bates County Mo
15 August 1859

Capt Doak
Dear Sir

Herewith enclosed I transmit to you a copy of James Montgomerys letter Sent to Capt Wm. B Fail on Saturday last this morning Lieut Barnes Sent an official Communication by the hands of Mr Peter Duncan informing me of an interview having been held with Montgomary yesterday, ending unsatisfactory, the people of the Territory demanding the immediate release of Pickles (alias Wright) Lieut Barnes and the people

on the Border of our State demand protection to which they certainly are entitled. I am preparing to start with my Company as Soon as I can get ready—I would be obliged to you to send me by Lieut Gooden of my Comp a pair of bullet moulds to suit the arms we have recd from you also Pistols & Side Arms, if you have them, for I wish to go as well prepared as I can. The late News recd are authentic and can be relied on, and I believe a general turn out is necessary.

I as Dear Sir

Very Respt Your Obt svt

(Signed) JAMES M COVE
Capt Co "D" Mo Vol

(Copy) [Enclosure.]

Barnesville K. T.
Aug 13th 1859

Capt Fail

Sir

It is rumored here that there is an armed force in your vicinity. If this is so we would respectfully ask an explanation of the object for which they are assembled. At a meeting of Citizens this day held, it was resolved that the Kidnapping of Wm. Wright (alias Pickles) is an outrage, which we as Citizens of Kansas cannot tolerate and we therefore demand his immediate return to his home in the Territory

Respectfully Yours

(Signed) J MONTGOMERY
and many others

I certify that the above is a true copy of the one Sent me by Lieut Barnes Mo Vol

(Signed) JAMES M COVE
Capt Co "D" Mo Vol

X—PETITION FROM VERNON COUNTY TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

To his Excellency the Governor of the State of Missouri

The undersigned your petitioners residents of Vernon County would respectfully yet earnestly ask that you would order one or more of the Companys of Missouri Volunteers or-

ganized under an act of our last Legislature "for the protection of the Western border" to be stationed on the line of our State in this County **until** the Territory of Kansas **has** a **constitution** or you **are convinced** from an **unmistakeable source** that her people **has** and **will** obey some Law.

Our reasons are numerous. Your excellency is familiar with the troubles of our border previous to the adjournment of our last Legislature the effects of those troubles, and the Causes of our present danger. At the Spring Term of our Circuit Court 1859 Several bills of indictment were found against parties of this lawless **God forsaken** banditti of murderers—house burners—robbers and horse thieves One of that band was recently taken and is now in Jail when lo and behold Montgomery their leader threatens to invade the State if this man of half dozen or more aliases is not released or the men that took him and delivered him to the sheriff of our County are not given over to them to reak their Vengeance on.

Your petitioners would respectfully represent to your Honor that the Western border of our County is Sparsely populated hence the necessity of haveing a neuclus that if attacked we may know where to go to get assistance and to give the same to the many unprotected families of our County.

We have a Territory on the line of some thirty two miles and in that whole scope of country we do not number over a dozen families in from three to five miles of the line; and our county being so near the headquarters of this notorious band we earnestly believe our petition should be granted.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

R. A. BOUGHAN
(and 44 others)

[Endorsed.]
45 citizens of
Vernon ask to have
a Company stationed
on the line of that
county.
Papinsville, Aug. 25, '59.

SELECTIONS FROM THE MISSOURI INTELLIGENCER AND BOON'S LICK ADVERTISER.

The State Historical Society has probably the only file in existence of the above paper, of which the publication was commenced April 23, 1819, at Franklin, Missouri Territory, the first paper published in Missouri outside of St. Louis.

PROCLAMATION BY GOV. WM. CLARK.

Whereas, by the treaty with the Great and Little Osage Nations of Indians, entered into at Fort Clark, on the 10th of November, 1808, the said nation did cede and transfer to the United States, (together with other lands) all that portion of territory which they had previously to that time been in possession of, which should be found to be to the northward of the Missouri river; and whereas, the said claim and possession of the Great and Little Osage Nation northward of the Missouri, is now ascertained to have been immemorially bounded, as follows—to-wit: Beginning at a point opposite the mouth of the Kansas river, and running northwardly one hundred and forty miles, thence eastwardly, to the water of the river, An-ha-ha, which empties into the Mississippi; thence to a point on the left bank of the Missouri river, opposite the mouth of the Gasconade; thence up the river Missouri, with its meanders, to the beginning. The pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands lying within these limits being of very recent date, are utterly unsupported by those usages, and that possession and prescription, on which the original inhabitants of this country have been accustomed to found their territorial claims. In exercise, therefore, of that authority with which I am invested by the laws, I do hereby make known that all that portion of country north-

ward of the Missouri river, acquired by the treaty of Fort Clark, the boundaries of which are set forth above, is hereby annexed to, and made a part of the county of St. Charles, for all purposes of civil government whatsoever; the proprietary, as well as sovereign rights to the same having been regularly acquired by the United States, by the treaty above mentioned. Of this annexation, all officers, civil and military, are requested to take due notice.

In testimony whereof, &c. Given, &c., at St. Louis, the 9th day of March, 1815.

WM. CLARK.

August 26, 1820.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, great and weighty matters, claiming the consideration of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, form an extraordinary occasion for convening them: I do, by these presents, appoint, Monday, the fourth day of June next, for their meeting at the town of St. Charles, the temporary seat of government for this state: Hereby requiring the respective Senators and Representatives then and there to assemble in General Assembly, in order to receive such communications as shall be made to them, and to consult and determine on such measures as in their wisdom may be deemed meet for the welfare of the state.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto affixed my private seal, (there being no seal of state yet provided).

Given under my hand at St. Charles, the twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, and of the independence of the State of Missouri, the first.

A. McNAIR.

By the Governor.

JOSHUA BARTON,

Secretary of State.

May 7, 1821.

NOTE.

This was the session that was called for the purpose of passing, and did pass, "A solemn public act, declaring the assent of this state to the fundamental condition contained in a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States, providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition."

The Society has an original edition of the laws passed at this special session.—Editor.

LANDS AT PUBLIC AUCTION.

Will be offered for sale on the 4th day of May, next, at the taven in Cote sans Dessein, that well known confirmemd Spanish Grant, of 7056 arpens, on the Missouri, (through the center of which runs the river Aux Vassee).

This tract is laid off in quarter sections to suit purchasers. It is acknowledged to be the finest tract of land in that part of the country, as it respects soil, timber and local advantages.

At the mouth of the river Aux Vassee a town is laid off, called Mexico. The mouth of this river is the most central part of the territory, and bids fair to be selected for the seat of government when we shall become a state. **Its advantages over Cote Sans Dessein are numerous; the landing is much better, and the title is indisputable, &c., &c.**

Terms—One-third in **cash** or **negroes**, at a fair valuation; the balance in four equal payments, of one, two, three and four years, secured by mortgage.

Only one third of the above tract will be offered at Cote Sans Dessein; one third at St. Louis, and one third at Franklin—the time of sale at the two last places will be specified in a future advertisement.

RICH'D. R. VENABLES.

April 23, 1819.

The Steam Boat, Independence, Capt. Nelson, was advertised to start from St. Louis on the 15th inst. for Franklin

and Chariton, with freight and passengers, and may be daily expected.
May 21, 1819.

ARRIVAL OF THE STEAMBOAT.

With no ordinary sensations of pride and pleasure, we announce the arrival, this morning, at this place, of the elegant steam boat Independence, Capt. Nelson, in seven sailing days (but thirteen from the time of her departure) from St. Louis, with passengers, and a cargo of flour, whiskey, sugar, iron castings, &c., **being the first steam boat that ever attempted ascending the Missouri.** She was joyfully met by the inhabitants of Franklin, and saluted by the firing of cannon, which was returned by the Independence.

The grand **desideratum,** the important **fact** is now ascertained, **that steam boats can safely navigate the Missouri river.**

A respectable gentleman, a passenger in the Independence, who has, for a number of years, navigated the great precaution in keeping clear of sand bars, the Missouri may

Missourians may hail the era, from which to date the growing importance of this section of the country; when they view with what facility, (by the aid of **steam**) boats may ascend the turbulent waters of the Missouri to bring to this part of the country the articles requisite to its supply, and return laden with the various products of this fertile region. At no distant period may we see the industrious cultivator making his way as high as the **Yellow Stone,** and offering to the enterprising merchant and trader a surplus worthy of the fertile banks of the Missouri, yielding wealth to industry and enterprise.
May 28, 1819.

The next number, June 4, had an account of the dinner that was given by the citizens to the captain and passengers, with the toasts that were drank on that occasion.

DANIEL BOONE.

To the Editors of the Missouri Intelligencer:

Gentlemen:

In the eighteenth number of your paper I observe an extract from the "Albany Plough Boy," in which are contained these works: "What think you, reader, of a newspaper at Boon's Lick, in the wilds of Missouri, in 1819; where in 1809 there was not, we believe a civilized being excepting the eccentric character, who gave his name to the spot—who delighted in the dreary and awful solitude by which he was surrounded—and who has since traveled further into the wilderness, to avoid society, and enjoy his favorite life of a hunter."

Some months ago the good natured and sagacious editors circulated a story, invented, perhaps, by some waggish fellow, that Col. Daniel Boone, the person alluded to by the editor of the Plough Boy, the first explorer and settler of Kentucky, had died in the wilderness in the act of shooting a buffalo. In the mean time Col. B. was living in a populous settlement with his son, Major Nathan Boone, and quietly making ready for a crop of corn. It is not true that the person who draws on him so much of the attention of these editors, ever lived in the tract of country vulgarly called "Boon's Lick," or gave his name to it. About the year 1809 Col. Daniel Boone, Junior, and Major Nathan Boone, sons of the old Col. B. made salt at the springs now occupied by Messrs. Becknell & Morrison, and from these springs were called Boon's Lick, the whole tract of country comprehended in Cooper and Howard counties, extending on both sides of the Missouri from the mouth of the Osage to the western Indian boundary, a distancce of about 200 miles. Col. Daniel Boone, Sen., lives, and has for many years lived, near the Charette village, one hundred miles below Franklin, surrounded by his descendants to the fourth generation—Until two years past he was in the habit of hunting a few weeks in each year for amusement—the last attempt he made was in the latter end of the year 1816. He was attacked by a

pleurisy at Loutre Lick, on his route to the hunting ground. That was the first time he had ever been obliged to have recourse to medical aid; he for a long time refused it. Doctor Hubbard, of St. Charles, accidently passed before the disease became fatal, and relieved him. Since that time he has lived at the place above named. It is most certain that Col. B. has many neighbors and sees much company. Many intelligent persons, who have visited him, have told the editor that few men are more interesting in conversation, or take more delight in it than this pretended **eccentric character.** The writer of this obtained most of his knowledge of Col. B's. life from his sons—he also once saw the Col., and during an hour he was in his company could discover nothing of the **eccentric savage,** either in his conversation or deportment. Perhaps it might be found upon inquiry that Col. B. left Kentucky to settle on the Missouri, because he had lost his lands there, and was unable or unwilling to buy more where land titles were so doubtful. TRUTH.

August 27, 1819.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Battle of Westport, by **Paul B. Jenkins.** (Kansas City, 1906. Pp. 193; pls. 24.)

The three days' battle at Gettysburg in the east, and the three days' battle near Kansas City in the west, were both in campaigns of invasion planned by the Confederate War Department for the purpose of severing the Union territory at the points of attack. The events of the former are well known, and Mr. Jenkins has performed a valuable service in putting in print the history of the western engagement, as this was not so well known or so well preserved as the former. Readers will be surprised to know that there was a larger number of troops engaged in this battle than in any other battle west of the Mississippi river. Wilson's Creek had fifteen thousand, Pea Ridge twenty-six thousand, and Westport twenty-nine thousand. Mr. Jenkins describes not only the engagement at Westport, but he also gives a full sketch of the life of General Price, of the campaign organized by him, of the engagements at the Little Blue, Independence, and the Big Blue. Indeed the most severe engagement of the series was that at the Big Blue where the brigades under Col. Philips, now Judge John F. Philips, Judge of the United States Court, Western District of Missouri, and Col. Winslow suffered the heaviest losses in officers and men. The brigades under Philips and two others drove the Confederates under Marmaduke back till the fighting under them and under Gen. Curtis was practically one battlefield; soon after the noon hour nearly thirty thousand men were engaged on a field between three and four miles square, and extending from the state line before Westport to about the southwest corner of Forest Hill cemetery. The Union forces gained the victory, and Price retreated south, followed by the Union forces far beyond the limits of the battlefield. F. A. S.

The course of study of the "common schools" usually have been confined in the lower grades to the "three R's," and the matter of preparing the scholars for intelligent citizenship has been almost overlooked. Where the people do not take part in the government, it matters little whether they understand it or not, and for its stability it is perhaps better that they should not do so. But in a republic in which every man is a part of the government, and is a deciding factor for or against changes that may be proposed it is almost criminal negligence to allow the youth of the country to grow up without understanding the government of which he himself is a part.

The various churches have catechisms for the instruction of the children, and the doctrines of each are so impressed upon them that they rarely change their belief afterwards if the teaching of the catechism has been thorough, and the importance of this fact has been appreciated by the church authorities.

That similar work may be done in impressing the mind of the young in matters of state, Dr. Isidor Loeb has prepared a work on the principles and workings of government, for the use of the preparatory and country schools, that is worthy of high commendation. If every scholar in the state were compelled to learn so much of government as is contained in his "Civil Government," there would be a more intelligent use of the ballot with an appreciation of the fact of participation in government, and a greater effort to make that participation intelligent and for the general upbuilding.

Our summer schools which are attended by teachers should impress upon these teachers the importance of this subject, and every teacher without exception should teach the principles as found in this book, verbally and at odd times, if not as a regular class exercise.

The same volume is prepared as a text book on another subject that is almost as much neglected as the other—"The History of Missouri," which has been prepared for the same grade of scholars as the other subject, by Walter Williams, so well known as the editor of the "Missouri Book" distributed at the St. Louis World's Fair, and as editor of the Columbia

Herald, and also by his public addresses and weekly contribution to the Sunday Globe-Democrat. While Mr. Williams is not an old man and has not been personally identified with the public life of the state for a long period of time, yet he has been a prominent factor in the political, educational and commercial life of the state, and mingled with those of earlier days, so that he is well adapted to prepare a history of the state.

The book was printed by the Democrat Printing Company at Carrollton, and bound by J. W. Tate, of Moberly.

F. A. S.

NECROLOGY.

MARIE LOUISE DALTON was born in Wentzville, Missouri, April 1, 1869. She graduated from Lindenwood College, St. Charles, with honor, in 1887. About ten years ago she went to St. Louis, and was assistant editor of the Sunday Republic for some five years. Through her personal efforts with the members of the Missouri Legislature the "flag bill" was passed prohibiting its desecration by being used for advertising purposes, and also providing for the annual celebration of Flag Day. Her funeral took place on that day.

Miss Dalton was the active and very efficient librarian of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, from the latter part of 1903, and increased very materially the collections of that society. She was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the State Historian of that organization. She was also an officer in the Missouri Folk Lore Society. After a short illness Miss Dalton died June 13, 1907, from cerebral meningitis.

WALTER L. SHELDON was born in Rutland, Vermont, in 1858. In 1886 he organized the Ethical Society, of St. Louis, a society modeled after the Ethical Society of New York of which Prof. Felix Adler was the head. He died June 5, 1907, in St. Louis.

JUDGE CHAN P. TOWNSLEY was elected in 1866 from Sedalia to the twenty-fourth general assembly as a member from the 17th district. Afterwards he was elected judge of the Pettis county circuit court, and later moved to Great Bend, Kansas, where he was editor of the Great Bend Tribune. He died at that place August 2, 1907, aged 74 years.

His father, Channel P. Townsley, was a native of Massachusetts, and was one of the early settlers of Cooper county. In 1852 the father died while on his way home from China, and the family then moved to Pettis county, where the Judge lived until his removal to Kansas.

HON. A. J. HARLAN a member of the forty-second and forty-third congresses from Indiana, a member of the Indiana legislature for three terms, a member of the territorial legislature of Dakota in 1861, a candidate for lieutenant governor of Missouri in 1868, and a member of the Missouri house in 1864 from Andrew county, died at Savannah, Missouri, May 19, 1907, aged 92 years, 1 month and 20 days.

DR. JOHN W. TRADER was born in Zenia, Ohio, March 6, 1837, and came with his father, Rev. Moses Trader, to Missouri in 1840. He graduated at the Missouri Medical College, St. Louis, 1859. In 1862 he joined the Union army, and was made assistant surgeon in the First Cavalry regiment. In 1864 he was made brigade surgeon, the First brigade, General Pleasanton's cavalry corps, and later was mustered into the regular army as surgeon. After the war he practiced medicine for a time at Lexington, but since the beginning of 1867 resided in Sedalia, where he died May 15, 1907.

In 1876 and 1877 he was president of the State Medical Association, and has held positions of trust and honor in state, church and societies. Judge John F. Philips of Kansas City was a brother-in-law.

HON. T. W. GUY, born in Cincinnati, Ohio, educated as a physician, lived in St. Louis county in 1869, moved to Kimswick in 1877, served as probate judge of Jefferson county, and was a member of the house in the thirty-fourth general

assembly in 1887 from that county. His grandmother on his father's side was a Rolfe, a direct descendant of John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas. He died at St. James, Mo., May 24, 1907, aged 76 years.

FATHER WALTER HENRY HILL was born near Lebanon, Kentucky, January 21, 1822, the fourteenth of seventeen children of his parents. He graduated from St. Mary's Jesuit College in 1843. He came to St. Louis in 1846 to study medicine in the St. Louis Medical College, but soon decided to study theology, and he was admitted to the Jesuit Novitiate near Florissant, Mo., February 3, 1847. In 1855 he took up his residence at the St. Louis University, and remained there five years; after completing his theological course, he was ordained to priesthood by Archbishop Kenrick, August 24, 1861. For four years he was president of St. Laviet College, Cincinnati, but returned to St. Louis in 1869. Until 1884 he delivered lectures to the graduating class in philosophy, during which time he published his Elements of Philosophy and Ethics, both of which have passed through many editions, and are in use in colleges as text books. He also published "The Historical Sketch of the St. Louis University" for its Golden Jubilee, June 24, 1879.

From 1884 to 1896 he was in Chicago, but an accidental injury to his eyesight caused his removal to St. Louis again, where he celebrated, February 3, 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the Jesuit Order. From this time he resided in the St. Louis University till the time of his death, May 18, 1907. He was greatly endeared to all students, to those of his order, and all who were intimately acquainted with him.

LEWIS LAMKIN, said to have been the oldest editor in Missouri in continuous work, died at Lee's Summit, May 24, aged 75 years. He had been an editor 54 years at Gallatin and Lee's Summit.

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